The Winning of the Frontier

OLIVER

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A Study in the Religious History of Canada

THE WINNING *of* THE FRONTIER

BY

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PREFACE

The Church Histories of Canada have all been written as sketches of denominational life and achievement. Some possess real merit as accurate, objective accounts of the development of individual churches. Others obviously are written with a purpose which is less scientific than propagandist. But none have sought to record the religious history of this country as one sustained movement in the life of Canada. The difficulty has been to discover in the multiplicity of incidents and in the complex tangle of happenings a single organizing principle which gives unity and coherence to the whole. The writer believes that, in spite of the many superficial diversities in church life in Canada, there has been a deep underlying unity in the main purpose of the churches in this land. Throughout their whole history they have all sought to do one and the same thing,—to win the Frontier. The history of church life in Canada is, therefore, in large measure a story of the expansion and winning of the Frontier. Every major issue in the religious history of Canada has arisen on the Frontier. The cross itself was planted at Gaspé to compensate on the Frontier of Canada for the losses sustained on the continent of Europe through the spread of Lutheranism. It was the religious need on the Frontier of the Hurons that called forth the Récollet and Jesuit missions. A half-century before it was achieved in England itself, religious toleration was conceded in Canada solely because Quebec was a Frontier. McCulloch and Ryerson won the battle of religious equality in this land because they championed the new life of the Frontier settlements in Nova

Scotia and Upper Canada. Self-government in the church life of Canada for all denominations was a gift of the Frontier. The Church Unions of the Seventies and Eighties were the solutions offered by the Presbyterians and Methodists of those days to the problem of national tasks on a continent-wide Frontier as presented by the newly-federated Dominion. The Manitoba school question that convulsed the political life of this country in the Nineties was an issue from the Frontier of Manitoba. And the Church Union of 1925 was forced forward from the Frontier of the Prairies.

The unity that is here disclosed runs through more than the religious aspect of the history of Canada. It is found no less in the economic and political history of this people. For Canada is a young country, even yet largely undeveloped, and her whole history, not merely the history of her religious life, is the story of the Winning of the Frontier.

St. Andrew's College,
Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, Canada,
October 7th, 1929.

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Chapter I.

The Frontier

On the Frontier ever abide Need and Opportunity. The hardy outriders of civilization do battle there with the primitive and the elemental. The pioneers themselves, of course, do not receive the promises, but they see them afar off and are persuaded of them. They wage a patient warfare of faith and courage, of poverty and unceasing toil. They are pathfinders for all who follow. But it is not trails in the forests alone that the pioneers blaze, nor tracks across the prairies, but fresh paths of action and new lines of public policy. In the sparse settlements on the Frontier, where need is greatest and the social barriers of older communities do not divide, spiritual issues most quickly emerge and are most frankly and most hopefully faced. The Councils of the Church may be held and decisions registered at great centres, as in Jerusalem, but the most vital problems ever arise in, and the solutions must always be found for, Joppa and Caesarea, Antioch and Galatia,—among, and for, the Gentiles and on the growing Frontier. For a Church advances most vitally not in the stately liturgies of the Cathedral in the metropolis but through understanding and fostering its missions on the Frontiers. It is a law of Christ's Kingdom that the Church that neglects the "uttermost part of the earth," whether in its own land or across the seas, does so at grave peril to its spiritual life. For the Frontier signifies Need and Opportunity. And thither the pioneering Spirit of Christ has ever beckoned His followers, to serve the Frontier.

The dominant motive in the religious life of Canada has been the winning of the Frontier. The earliest explorers

were, indeed, intent upon discovering a new way to the Far East. But they were no less zealous to bring the Indian tribes within the fold of the Roman Catholic Church. Cartier justified his explorations to the Most Christian King of France with the plea that they would yield new fields for mission activity. "These things," he wrote of his second voyage, 1535-1536, "fill those who have seen them with the sure hope of the future increase of our most holy faith and of your possessions and most Christian name."[1] In what was probably his last official letter Champlain urged a more aggressive policy in dealing with the Five Nations. He hoped thereby not only to extend the French dominions but also to open up a whole continent to the influence of the Christian Faith. It was a famous utterance of the Father of New France that "the salvation of a single soul was worth more than the conquest of an empire, and that Kings should seek to extend their domain in heathen countries only to subject them to Christ."[2] As we shall see, Frontiers are not always geographical. They are spiritual and cultural as well. The Frontier demanding the Church's message and work for its untouched area may be the neglected slum of an old city no less than the unreached community on the farthest verge of settlement. But in Canada, just because of the primitive conditions and pioneer settlements characteristic of a young and growing country, it has been the expanding geographical Frontier that has afforded the most striking challenge to the Church. In the days that have intervened since Cartier and Champlain the geographical Frontier of Canada has been pushed from the trackless forests of the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes westward to the rolling prairies and northward to the rush-

1. The Voyages of Jacques Cartier. Published from the originals with translations, notes and appendices. By H. P. Biggar, p. 91.
2. Quoted by Charlevoix from memoirs of Champlain; N. E. Dionne, Champlain, p. 277.

ing Yukon. The growth of the Dominion has witnessed a concentration of economic control in great centres. And political interest has but too often followed sectional divisions. But the winning of the Frontier has been, and still is, the controlling feature of religious policy and the constant motive of church enterprise in Canadian life.

Chapter II.

The First Frontier

1. Jacques Cartier.

It was on July 24, 1534, that Jacques Cartier reached Gaspé. The mixed religious and political motives that inspired him found expression in the mode in which he took possession of the country.[1] Cartier has himself described the occasion:—

> "We had a cross made 30 feet high, which was put together in the presence of a number of the Indians on the point at the entrance to this harbour, under the cross-bar of which we fixed a shield with three *fleurs-de-lys* in relief, and above it a wooden board, engraved in large Gothic characters, where was written Long Live the King of France. We erected this cross on the point in their presence and they watched it being put together and set up. And when it had been raised in the air, we all knelt down with our hands joined, worshipping it before them; and made signs to them, looking up and pointing towards heaven, that by means of this we had our redemption"[2]

The natives who witnessed the ceremony were no less moved by religious, than tribal, feelings. They evidently believed that Cartier had set up a *totem*. They understood that he was laying claim to their country. An Indian chief, dressed in an old black bearskin, made a long harangue and pointed to the land all around about, "as if," wrote Cartier, "he wished to say that all this region belonged to him and

1. James Phinney Baxter in A Memoir of Jacques Cartier, Sieur de Limoilou, has pointed out as an indication of Cartier's own religious character that he took part in 53 baptisms in 45 years, and in 27 of these he was godfather.
2. The Voyages of Jacques Cartier. By H. P. Biggar, pp.64-5.

that we ought not to have set up the cross without his permission."[3] In some vague way the Indians feared for both their religion and their land. Nor was their alarm groundless. Though the actual settlement of the country was to be delayed, the rule of the white man was now inevitable for Canada. And by setting up the cross at Gaspé, Cartier, in the name of the Christian religion, had, on behalf of the many who were to come after, begun the battle to win the Frontier. On July 24, 1534, that Frontier was the whole of Canada and all the tribes who dwelt therein.

2. The Frontier.

The first contact of the French explorers with Canada revealed to them the frontier of a vast virgin forest growth. On the north shore of the Gulf, Cartier did not see a single spot clear of timber except in two places near the water's edge where there were meadows and very pretty ponds. As to the north shore Cartier declared:—"I am rather inclined to believe that this is the land God gave to Cain."[4] In addition to the luxuriant growth of trees and bushes he found a great variety of wild animal life and birds, "whose numbers are so great as to be incredible unless one has seen them." The maps of Canada from this period are the maps of a Frontier. For they not only give the configuration of land and water but abound as well with pictures of trees and shrubs, of bears, deer and marine monsters, and of Indians in friendly attitude and hostile array.[5]

When Cartier came, then, he found in Canada a wilderness, a Frontier of river and forest, and also, aborigines on the Frontier of cultural development and religious life and beliefs. "They are," he declared, "wild and savage folk."[6] "They bartered all that they had to such an extent that all went

3. Ibid., p. 65.
4. Ibid., p. 22.
5. Ibid., pp. 1, 64, 128, 160, 192.
6. Ibid., p. 22.

back naked without anything on them."[7] "They are wonderful thieves and steal everything they can carry off."[8] He believed, however, that the Indians were "people who would be easy to convert."[9] Cartier was animated by a zeal to extend the sway of the Roman faith no less than to explore the waterways of the new land. But though he carried with him a priest he accomplished little more for religion on his first voyage than to claim the country for Christ and the King, have mass sung wherever practicable,[10] set up crosses on headlands,[11] and scatter the names of saints along the capes and promontories of the Gulf.[12]

3. A New Frontier for the Roman Catholic Church.

(a) In relation to Europe.

(b) In relation to the Indians.

Cartier was painfully aware of the inroads which Lutheranism at the time was making upon the Roman Church. His voyages were all made between the Diet of Augsburg and the death of Luther, at time of great prosperity for political Lutheranism.[13] Cartier was inspired by a double religious motive, an eagerness to carry out the manifest will of God that all human beings should attain to "Knowledge of, and belief in, our holy faith,"[14] and, at the same time, an antipathy to the "wicked Lutherans, apostates and imitators of Mahomet."[15] His letter to the French King indicates his desire to compensate the Church for losses on the continent of Europe by gains on the Frontier of Canada. Cartier, however, did not carry a priest on his second voyage. But the voyage itself was undertaken only after the most solemn religious services in the choir of the cathedral church of St.

7. Ibid., p. 53.
8. Ibid., 63.
9. Ibid., 56, 57.
10. Ibid., 18, 24, 49, 79.
11. Ibid., 20, 64.
12. Ibid., 20, 29, 38.
13. A. H. Newman, Manual of Church History, ii, 108.
14. H. P. Biggar, Voyages of Jacques Cartier, p. 88.
15. Ibid., 89.

Malo.[16] On this voyage the opposition of the Indians to the penetration of their land by Cartier was dramatically asserted. Finding that simple protests were unheeded, the Indian chief, Donnaconna, invoked the aid of the religion of the Frontier. He arrayed three members of his tribe in the dress of devils "in black and white dogskins, with horns as long as one's arm and their faces coloured black as coal."[17] They were represented to be delegates from the god Cudouagny who dwelt at Hochelaga. These fierce emissaries essayed to stay the advance of the White Chief. They brought the tidings of the announcement made at Hochelaga by Cudouagny that there would be so much ice and snow that all would perish. "At this," writes Cartier, "we all began to laugh and to tell them that their god Cudouagny was a mere fool who did not know what he was saying; and that they should tell his messengers as much; and that Jesus would keep them safe from the cold if they would trust in him."[18] Cartier was not intimidated. He continued to journey westward to the village of Hochelaga, presenting crosses and crucifixes no less than hatchets and knives.[19] The Frontier and the religion of the Frontier were yielding before the masterful mariner of St. Malo.

4. Cartier Aggressive for his Faith.

Nor was Cartier content simply to resist the religion of the Frontier. He had no high regard for that religion and assumed the aggressive against it. He explained the nature and importance of baptism and promised to bring out from France priests and some chrism for the proper observance of this rite.[20]

When they brought the sick and afflicted to Hochelaga to be "touched," the sea-captain was moved with Christian

16. Ibid., 92.
17. Ibid., 136.
18. Ibid., 139.
19. Ibid., 153.
20. Ibid., 179-181.

compassion and sought to apply a Christian remedy. It is a happy picture that the kindly, simple-minded French navigator must have presented four centuries ago on the banks of the St. Lawrence in what is now the heart of the city of Montreal. He had no priest with him but, with the resourcefulness that has ever characterized the Frontier, he would bring to the suffering the consolations of the Christian religion as far as lay within his power:—

> "Seeing the suffering of these people and their faith, the Captain read aloud the Gospel of St. John, namely, "In the beginning, etc.", making the sign of the cross over the poor sick people, praying God to give them knowledge of our holy faith and of our Saviour's passion, and grace to obtain baptism and redemption. Then the Captain took a prayer-book and read out, word for word, the Passion of our Lord."[21]

Afterwards, as not wholly trusting the efficacy of his semi-priestly performance, he fell back upon his proper rôle of explorer and trader and ended by a distribution of hatchets, knives and trinkets, and a flourish of trumpets.

5. The Frontier Saves Cartier.

But in the struggle for the Frontier all the victories were not achieved by Cartier and his Christian religion. During the voyage of 1535-1536 the scurvy attacked Cartier's men at Stadacona. By the middle of February all but ten of his 110 men were afflicted. Twenty-five died. Their situation was desperate:

> "Our Captain, seeing the plight we were in and how general the disease had become, gave orders for all to pray and to make orisons, and had an image and figure of the Virgin Mary carried across the ice and snow and placed against a tree about a bow-shot from the fort, and issued an order that, on the following Sunday, mass should

21. Ibid., 165-166.

be said at that spot, to which all who could walk, both sick and well, should make their way in a procession, singing the seven psalms of David with the Litany, praying the Virgin to be good enough to ask her dear Son to have pity upon us. And when the mass had been said and sung before the image, the Captain made a vow to go on a pilgrimage to Our Lady of Rocamadour, if God would allow him to return to France in safety."[22]

"On that day," the narrative pathetically continues, "there died Phillip Rougemont." Finally, when not three men were left in good health and it became impossible even to bury the dead, Cartier learned from the Indians the virtues of the leaves and bark of the tree "Anneda." The effect of the treatment was instantaneous and well-nigh miraculous, "so that in less than eight days a whole tree as large and as tall as any I ever saw was used up, and produced such a result, that, had all the doctors of Louvain and Montpellier been there, with all the drugs of Alexandria, they could not have done so much in a year as did this tree in eight days; for it benefited us so much that all, who were willing to use it, recovered health and strength, thanks be to God."[23] Well might Cartier ejaculate, "Thanks be to God!" The wilderness Frontier of Canada had saved the mariner of St. Malo and his crew.

6. Cartier's Attitude Towards the Frontier.

We have no right to expect from Cartier the doctrines of the trained theologian nor the methods of the tried missionary. There is something naïve about his message to the Indian chief who had cheated him,—"that it was Jesus who was angry with him for the bad turns he had tried to play."[24] But Cartier's attitude towards the natives was, in general,

22. Ibid., 206-207.
23. Ibid., 214-215.
24. Ibid., 192.

one of sympathy and hopefulness, the attitude that wins the Frontier:

> "From what we have seen and been able to learn of these people, I am of opinion that they could easily be moulded in the way one would wish. May God in His holy mercy turn His countenance towards them. Amen."[25]

In the work of Cartier the civilization of Europe and the Christian Faith of Rome had joined battle with the Frontier of the St. Lawrence for the control of the new land of Canada and its nomad Indian tribes.

25. Ibid., 186.

Chapter III.

The Frontier Proves Impregnable

1. Frontier of Religious Development.

As we have seen, the first contact of the French explorers with Canada revealed to them aborigines on the frontier of cultural development and of religious life and beliefs. Indeed, schooled as they were in the highly organized institutional and dogmatic religion of the Roman Faith, the earliest missionaries denied that the Indians possessed a religion at all. "They have," wrote Père Lalemant of the Montagnais, "no form of divine worship nor any kind of prayers." And in the *Jesuit Relation* of 1647-1648 Père Raguenau reported concerning the Hurons:—

> "To speak truly, all the nations of these countries have received from their ancestors no knowledge of a God; and, before we set foot here, all that was related about the creation of the world consisted of nothing but myths. Nevertheless, though they were barbarians, there remained in their hearts a secret idea of the Divinity and of a First Principle, the author of all things, whom they invoked without knowing him."

As a matter of fact the Indians were not without religion. But their cultus was on the frontier of religious development. It was a form of totemism resting on a social division into clans or tribes, and reaching out to a complex of naturistic and animistic cults. Theirs was a religion alike of the phenomena of nature and of spirits. It had spirits and demons as its object but was also addressed to cosmic forces such as winds, rivers, stars or sky and to plants, animals and rocks.[1] "The skies," wrote Copway, "were filled with

1. Émile Durkheim, The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life, pp. 48, 88; Edward Clodd, Animism, the Seed of Religion, pp. 10, 24, 26, 89.

the deities they worshipped, and the whole forest awakened with their whispers. The lakes and streams were the places of their resort, and mountains and valleys alike their abode."[2] Some tribes, however, were more naturistic than others, for all had not reached the same level of religious development. Before the white man came the Indians had learned to conceive of a "divine world interlocking with and dominating the human."[3] They had attained to the idea of a magic power called "Manito" or "Manitou" by the Algonquin tribes, "Orenda" by the Iroquois.[4] This power might influence the life of man, and might, in turn, be influenced by human activity. In fact, in North America the more enlightened tribes seem all to have recognized this "Great Spirit." But the religion of the Indians consisted in the worship of all material objects of nature and of many creatures of their fancy possessed of magic power and regarded as personages.

2. Myths, Ceremonies and Rites.

(a) Myths.

The religion of the Indians had little, if anything, to do with ethics or morals. It found expression rather in ceremonies and rites performed at stated seasons and festivals. As H. B. Alexander has pointed out, the religion of the Indians must be studied in his rites rather than in his myths.[5] Their myths were numerous, not a few were allegories. Some were obviously told merely for entertainment. Others purported to explain the causes of things. There was a First Age in which the people were either animal in form or only partly human. Then came a great Flood, after which the animals came to be as they are now, and the new race of men

2. George Copway, The Ojibway Nation, 1850, quoted in Hartley B. Alexander, The Religious Spirit of the American Indian as shown in the Development of his Religious Rites and Customs, p. 10.
3. H. B. Alexander, Ibid., p. 13.
4 Franz Boas, Article "Religion" pp. 365-371 in F. W. Hodge, Handbook of American Indians, Part ii.
5. The Mythology of all the Races: North American, Introduction, p. xvi.

was created. Other myths related to the theft of fire, the origin of death, the liberation of the animals, the giving of the arts and the institution of rites. For the Indian there was a world above where dwelt the Sky Father or Great Spirit and the heavenly powers. Light was the "eye of the Great Spirit," his breath the moving winds. There was a world beneath for the Earth Mother who yielded the Water of Life and nourished in her bosom all plants and animals. In this world beneath was the abode of the dead. There was also the central plane of the earth, and there were the genii of its Quarters. Between earth and the world above birds served as intermediaries; between earth and the powers below this work was done by serpents and the creatures of the waters.

(b) Rites.

It was in their rites, however, that the religion of the Indians most clearly disclosed its nature. Of these the most significant were the Calumet, the Sweat-bath, Fasting and Vigils, Rites of Exorcism, Dances, Singing and Rites for the Dead.

(1) Calumet.

The Calumet was the true altar of Indian worship, and its smoke the proper offering to Heaven. Marquette noted the respect in which it was held, and described its nature:—

> "There is nothing more mysterious or more respected among them. Less honor is paid to the Crowns and scepters of Kings than the Savages bestow upon this. It seems to be the God of peace and of war, the Arbiter of life and of death. It has but to be carried upon one's person, and displayed, to enable one to walk safely through the midst of Enemies—who, in the hottest of the Fight, lay down Their arms when it is shown. For that reason, the Ilinois gave me one, to serve as a safeguard among all the Nations through whom I had to pass during my voyage.

> There is a Calumet for peace, and one for war, which are distinguished solely by the Color of the feathers with which they are adorned; Red is a sign of war. They also use it to put an end to Their disputes, to strengthen Their alliances, and to speak to Strangers. It is fashioned from red stone, polished like marble, and bored in such a manner that one end serves as a receptable for the tobacco, while the other fits into the stem; this is a stick two feet long, as thick as an ordinary cane, and bored through the middle. It is ornamented with the heads and necks of various birds, whose plumage is very beautiful. To these they also add large feathers,—red, green and other colors,—wherewith the whole is adorned. They have a regard for it, because they look upon it as the calumet of the Sun; and in fact they offer it to the latter to smoke when they wish to obtain a calm, or rain, or fine weather.[6]

The Indians defined their cosmos by offering the smoke of the Calumet to the Sky, the Earth, and the rulers of the earth's Quarters.

(2) Sweat-bath.

The sweat-bath took place in a tent or lodge, often partially sunken in the ground. Stones were heated red-hot and water was thrown upon them. Dense clouds of steam arose and filled the lodge. The object of the sweat-bath was not primarily medicinal. In fact such result was frequently counteracted because the Indians often immediately exposed themselves to the cold, not seldom even rolling in the snow.[7] In the sweat-bath they sought rather to express a prayer for purification and strength. For in the

6. Journal of Father Marquette, in The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, selected and edited by Edna Kenton, pp. 352-353; See also pp. 423, 424; 346-349; 360, 362; 354-355; 364-365; 409; 414.

7. W. L. Grant, A History of Canada, p. 19; W. F. Ganong, New Relation of Gaspesia with the Customs and Religion of the Gaspesian Indians, by Father Chrestien Le Clercq (Champlain Society), pp. 296-297; First Establishment of the Faith in New France, Translated by John Gilmary Shea, i, 196.

bath they addressed the life-giving elements and powers of their universe,—earth, fire, water, air.

(3) Fasting and Vigils.

By fasting and vigils the Indians sought to induce dreams and visions that would furnish guidance for the way of life. They hoped in this manner to break through their thinly-veiling environment of physical life to establish touch with, and receive strength from, the powers of the unseen world. On April 27, 1639, Father du Peron wrote:—

> "All their actions are dictated to them directly by the devil, who speaks to them, now in the form of a crow or some similar bird, now in the form of a flame or a ghost, and all this in dreams, to which they show great deference. They consider the dream as the master of their lives, it is the God of the country. It is this which dictates to them their feasts, their hunting, their fishing, their war, their trade with the French, their remedies, their dances, their games, their songs."[8]

(4) Rites of Exorcism.

Rites of exorcism were performed by a medicine-man or shaman or priest-doctor. He served as a conjurer or exorcist or juggler, and endeavoured to influence spirits to bring about good or evil. The rites rested upon a belief in the power of unseen beings to possess the body. Father Joseph Le Caron tells how he saw a master-juggler raise a cabin with ten large posts, which he planted deep in the ground. "In it he made a frightful racket to consult these spirits in order to know whether they should soon have snow in great abundance."[9]

Le Clercq describes how the brother of a sick Montagnais consulted the most famous medicine-man in his nation:

8. Letter of Francois du Peron, in the Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, selected and edited by Edna Kenton, pp. 141-142.
9. Quoted in Le Clercq's First Establishment of the Faith in New France, translated by J. G. Shea, i, 135.

"He erected in the middle of his cabin a kind of tower with posts driven into the ground and covered with birch bark in order that in this little dungeon, full of shades and darkness, adorned with hideous figures representing the devil, he might learn what had caused his brother's illness. The medicine-man entered alone. His gestures, postures and contortions were horrible as he invoked his Manitou to come in and reveal the author of the malady of our Indian's brother. He struck his breast, tore his face, uttered fearful cries and howls amid the rattle and noise of a kind of tambourine. The earth trembled under his leaps and bounds, while he shook with his hands the posts of his cabin till he sweated blood and water, without taking a moment's rest. At last, after all these invocations, this accomplished knave decided that the illness had been given by an Indian more than sixty leagues from the cabin."[10]

(5) Dances.

The Dances were group ceremonies or social dramatic prayers, combining sacrifice, song and symbolic personation. They were addressed to the great nature-powers, to sun and earth, to the rain-bringers and to the givers of food and game. The Calumet dance was the most famous, performed to strengthen peace, to unite the Indians for some great war, for public rejoicing, to do honour to a Nation, or to welcome some important personage. In winter the ceremony took place in a cabin, in summer in the open fields. A large mat of rushes was spread in the middle of the space upon which to place with honour the Manitou of the person who gave the Dance. At the right of the Manitou was placed the Calumet, and around this the clubs, war-hatchets, bows, quivers and arrows used by the warriors of the Nation.

10. Le Clercq's First Establishment of the Faith in New France, translated by J. G. Shea, i, 192-193.

(6) Singing.

The Indians were great singers. They sang for recreation and for devotion "which," wrote the Jesuits, "with them means superstition." They sang in their sufferings, in their difficulties and in their dangers. Their songs and their drums played a part in the witchcraft of the sorcerers. They sang in a long religious rite which lasted more than four hours, but, when the missionaries asked what the words meant, no one could interpret.

(7) Rites for the Dead.

The rites for the dead varied in their nature from ceremonies that were enacted to honour the dead to rites that invoked the help or appeased the ill-will of the departed. Le Clercq has described their mortuary customs and their beliefs concerning the dead:—

> "Although they imagine all souls corporal, understanding by their Manitou only a kind of material mainspring, giving being and movement to all things, yet they profess to believe in the immortality of the soul and a future life where men enjoy all pleasures, where they find even abundant fishery and chase, Indian corn and tobacco in all plenty, with a thousand other curious, beautiful and necessary things. They hold that the soul does not abandon the body immediately after death; hence they inter with the body a bow and arrow, Indian corn, meat and sagamity to support it while waiting. As they ascribe souls to all sensible things, they believe that men after death hunt the souls of beaver, elk, foxes, wild geese, seals, and that the souls of their snow-shoes serve to keep them above the snow, and the souls of their bows and arrows to kill beasts. They hold the same of fish and fishing; so that the dead need the arms which are buried with them only to make the journey to the next life. They imagine they ramble invisibly through the villages for a time and

share in their feasts and banquets, where they always set aside a portion for them. This goes so far that many of these nations have certain general feasts of the dead, accompanied by horrible chants and cries; feasts where all must be eaten; dances and presents of different kinds. They take the body from the village, and bones, which they call bundles of souls, and change them from one tomb to another adorned with skins, beads, belts and other like riches of the country, believing that all this serves to render the dead more happy." [11]

3. Hiawatha.

When the white men came the Indian tribes, and particularly the Algonquins, Hurons and Iroquois with whom the French came into touch, possessed, as we have just seen, a religion on the frontier of its development. Their gods had already begun to be. It is not improbable that about this very time, between the days of Cartier and Champlain, an Onondaga chief, Hiawatha, conceived the dream of a vast united Indian Nation and did accomplish the organization of the Iroquois confederacy. Tradition has it that, after this confederacy had been achieved, Hiawatha departed for the land of the sunset, sailing across the great Lake in his magic canoe. The Iroquois exalted him to the rank of a demi-god. Of Hiawatha, Alexander writes:—"In these tales of the man who created a nation from a medley of tribes we pass from the nature-myth to the plane of civilization in which the culture-hero appears. Hiawatha is an historical personage invested with semi-divinity because of his great achievements for his fellow-men."[12] As with Hiawatha among the Iroquois, so was it with Manabozho among the Algonquins. We detect the Indians in the very midst of creating gods in the image of tribal leaders. So, too, Nature was partitioned

11. Le Clercq's First Establishment of the Faith in New France, translated by J. G. Shea, i, 217-218.

12. H. B. Alexander, The Mythology of all the Races, North American, p. 51.

among personalities. Religion, then, had reached only the frontier of spiritual growth. How misty and vague was that borderland of the spirits can be seen in their failure to distinguish between things and persons as revealed in an Algonquin declaration to Father Charlevoix:—"Since hatchets and kettles have shadows as well as men and women, it follows that these shadows must pass along with human shadows into the spirit land."

Such was the Frontier encountered in New France by Cartier and those who followed him. Though Cartier had the instincts of a Christian missionary, he was, for all that, simply a discoverer and explorer. He had found the Frontier of Canada. He had envisioned it as a vast mission field. He had taken possession for Christ and the King of France. He had caused mass to be sung and had instructed some few Indians concerning Baptism and Jesus. He had not, however, evangelized the natives, although, when he returned to France, he must have carried some Indians with him to be Christianized, for the Archives of St. Malo for 1538 record the baptism of three savages carried thither by Cartier.[13]

4. The Frontier After Cartier.

For over sixty years subsequent to Cartier's third voyage and that of Roberval, a year later, the Frontier continued undisturbed. Breton sailors towards the end of the century came to Newfoundland in large numbers to secure fish for the diet on holy days of Catholic Europe. The French, however, took little interest in discovery and made no progress in colonization. They were absorbed in the Wars of Religion at home. But towards the end of the century the concern of the French for the Frontier revived and definite efforts were soon made to evangelize the Indians. The faithful and arduous labours of the Récollets and Jes-

13. Massachusetts Archives Documents collected in France, i, 367, quoted by Benjamin F. De Costa in Justin Winsor, Narrative and Critical History of America, IV, ii, p. 57, note.

uits down to the surrender of Champlain to Kirke in 1629 gleaned only the merest handful of converts. and these converts the victory of the English at Quebec compelled the Orders to abandon. Nothing was salvaged out of the first period of French missions either in Canada or in Acadia. The Frontier was still intact.

5. The Frontier of Acadia.

In 1604 the Calvinist De Monts, who had succeeded to De Chastes in the viceroyalty of Acadia and had been assigned the fur trade monopoly, landed at St. Croix Island. Next year he settled at Port Royal. De Monts had with him both Huguenot ministers and Roman Catholic priests. At that period Huguenots might enjoy in America, as in France, full freedom for their worship. But they were not permitted to take part in the proselytising of the natives, for the conversion of the Indians was exclusively reserved for Roman Catholic priests. [14] Incredible hardships overwhelmed the colony, and the priests fell victims to scurvy. The mission proved so complete a failure as to call forth a reproof from the French Court. Stung into action, Poutrincourt, lieutenant to De Monts, in 1610 brought out the secular priest Fléché who immediately baptized 21 Abenakis and thus enabled Poutrincourt to send to France a vindicating report that the mission had been successfully inaugurated. In 1611 two Jesuit missionaries—Pierre Biard and Ennemond Massé—arrived at Port Royal but were accorded an ungracious reception by Poutrincourt. This was but the beginning of their sorrows. They found their work beset with many difficulties, and the task of learning the Indian languages overwhelming. As reinforcements, came the lay brother Du Thet in 1612 and Father Quentin in 1613. But complete disaster soon crushed them. They had scarcely established themselves on Mt. Desert Island when the Vir-

14. F. X. Garneau, History of Canada, translated by A. Bell, i, 73.

ginian leader Argall routed the colony. Du Thet was killed, Massé cast adrift in a boat, and Biard and Quentin carried off to Virginia and shipped by way of England back to France. The mission had collapsed.

As little successful was the attempt made by the Récollets in 1619 to labour among the French fishermen and the Micmacs of Gaspé and Acadia. In 1624, after many privations and mishaps, they abandoned the enterprise. Three of these missionaries, however, joined the mission group on the St. Lawrence. The Frontier had proved impregnable in Acadia.

6. The Frontier of Quebec.

In the meantime, in 1608, Samuel de Champlain had established a permanent post at Quebec and was planning measures for the success of his colony. In 1615 he brought out four members of the Récollet Order,—Father Denis Jamay, first commissary of the mission, who took charge of the chapel at Quebec; Father Jean d'Olbeau, successor in case of death, who undertook work among the Montagnais of the lower St. Lawrence; Father Joseph Le Caron, who set forth to evangelize the Hurons about Georgian Bay; and the lay brother Pacifique du Plessis, who remained at Quebec. Their first sight at Tadoussac was a challenge from the savagery of the Frontier to the Christianity and civilization which they had come to implant in Canada. They witnessed the treatment meted out by the Montagnais to two of their captured prisoners. "The savages bound them, bit off their thumbs, burned them with irons, had the women scalp them, then they stoned, and cooked and ate them."[15] Forth into the wilderness these Récollets fared to do battle with the Frontier. And in 1615 in the whole region west of Quebec that Frontier was all wilderness and all paganism. The Grey Friars ranged the woods and followed the streams from Tadoussac to Nipissing, walking with wooden sandals through

15. John J. Wynne,—The Jesuit Martyrs of North America, p. 39.

the forest trails and through the trackless tangle of virgin bush, roughly clad, ill-fed, enduring the rigours of winter and suffering the privations and discomforts of savage life, if by any means they might win some Indians for the Christian faith, and proving themselves to be all that Champlain had hoped to find them,—"missionaries full of zeal for the salvation of souls, disinterested men, who, like the apostles, would seek only and purely God's glory, the conversion of the heathen, the establishment and spiritual consolation of the colony without any temporal return for themselves." [16]

7. The Papal Brief for Canada.

On March 20, 1618, Pope Paul IV issued a Brief for the Canada mission. This was given by Cardinal Bentivoglio to the Récollet Fathers of the province of St. Denis in France. Among others, it extended the following privilege, suited to the Frontier,—"to have an altar which you may decently carry, and thereon to celebrate in decent and becoming places where the convenience of a church shall be wanting."[17]

8. The Failure of the Récollets.

The mission of the Récollets yielded no visible spiritual fruits. As men count success it was a failure. The obstacles were tremendous. Concerning the language difficulty Father Charles Lalemant, a Jesuit missionary who came to the assistance of the Récollets in 1625, wrote:—

> "For the languages are multiplied with the number of the tribes; and this land, extending so far in every direction, is inhabited by at least fifty different tribes." [18]

And Father Jouvency, one of the eighteenth century historians of the Society of Jesus, wrote concerning the Canadian missions of this early period:—

16. Le Clercq's First Establishment of the Faith in New France, translated by J. G. Shea, i, 69.
17. Ibid., i, 76.
18. Letter of Charles Lalemant, August 1, 1626 in the Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, selected and edited by Edna Kenton, p. 12.

"For since the speech of the people was unknown to them, and they had no certain and fixed residence in this savage land, there was no opportunity for educating those whom they chanced to baptize, and who, plunging again into their former habits, scarcely retained the Christian name, while defiling it with their native vices."[19]

Perhaps no more concise nor more faithful picture of the difficulties that beset the early missionaries on the Frontier of Canada has ever been penned than that written nearly a century later by the Jesuit missionary, Father De Crepieul. Though describing a member of another Order at a somewhat later time, it may be taken as a fairly accurate transcript of the mode of life and the work of the early Récollets in the second and third decades of the seventeenth Century. The wonder is not that the early missionaries found the Frontier impregnable, but that they survived at all.[20]

Particularly difficult was the mission of Father Le Caron among the Hurons. "It is impossible," writes Le Clercq, "to describe the hardships which this good father underwent during this painful voyage; now amid the boiling whirlpools, the currents, the rapids and waterfalls, capable of appalling the most intrepid; now bearing the insupportable annoyance of the countless mosquitoes and gnats, which gave him no rest by day or night."[21] Father Le Caron himself wrote:—

"It would be difficult to tell you the fatigue I have suffered, having been obliged to have my paddle in hand all day long and row with all my strength with the Indians. I have more than a hundred times walked in the rivers over the sharp rocks, which cut my feet, in the mud, in the woods, where I carried the canoe and my little baggage, in order to avoid the rapids and frightful water-

19. Account of the Canadian Mission from 1611 to 1613 by Father Joseph Jouvency, Ibid., p. 4.

20. Life of a Montagnaix Missionary, quoted in The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, selected and edited by Edna Kenton, pp. XV-XVII.

21. Le Clercq's First Establishment of the Faith in New France, translated by J. G. Shea, i, 95.

falls. I say nothing of the painful fast which beset us, having only a little sagamity, which is a kind of pulmentum composed of water and the meal of Indian corn, a small quantity of which is dealt out to us morning and evening. Yet I must avow that amid my pains I felt much consolation. For alas! when we see such a great number of infidels, and nothing but a drop of water is needed to make them children of God, one feels an ardor, which I cannot express, to labor for their conversion and to sacrifice for it one's repose and life." [22]

In the village of Carragouha the Hurons offered to lodge Father Le Caron in their common cabins. He informed them that the affairs he had to negotiate with God, involving as they did the salvation of their Nation, were so important that he required solitude far from the tumult of their families. With poles and bark they built him a cabin apart from the village. Here Father Le Caron raised an altar.

The Récollets reported to Champlain that the Indians were gross in religious matters and superstitious to excess, that none could ever succeed in converting them, unless they made them men before they made them Christians. It was the Frontier that was defeating the Récollets. There was not sufficient basis of culture, of civilization, of Christianity in the colony to make an impact upon the crude paganism and the wilderness habits of the Indians. "To civilize them," the missionaries told Champlain in a conference, "it was necessary first that the French should mingle with them and habituate them among us, which could be done only by the increase of the Colony, the greatest obstacle to which was on the part of the gentlemen of the Colony who, to monopolize trade, did not wish the country to be settled, and did not even wish us to make the Indians sedentary, without which nothing can be done for the salvation of these heathens." [23]

22. Ibid., i, 95.
23. Ibid., i, 110.

There were trading interests that profited by keeping New France a Frontier. Canada was proving a failure no less as a colonial settlement than as a mission. And there was little hope of betterment so long as the manifest destiny of the country was to remain permanently a Frontier. But a change was at hand for the Colony. Cardinal de Richelieu had become Grand Master and Chief of the Navigation and Commerce of France. He dissolved the Old Company and instituted the Company of One Hundred Associates which undertook to bring out from France artisans and labourers and to establish in the country at least 4,000 colonists within fifteen years. New France, however, was to be a Frontier only for the Roman Catholic Church. For the settlers must be natives of France and exclusively of the Catholic faith, and no Huguenot was to be allowed to enter the country.

9. The Coming of the Jesuits.

In the meantime, in 1624, there arrived as recruits for the mission brother Récollets who, as we have seen, had already failed to establish themselves in Acadia and Gaspé. But the task of the Frontier was proving so appalling, and the results of the mission so discouraging [24] that in 1625 the Récollets summoned to their aid the powerful Jesuit Order. In April, 1625, arrived on the St. Lawrence the vanguard of the Jesuits,—Ennemond Massé, who had been tried in the old Jesuit mission of Acadia; Charles Lalemant, who was appointed Superior; and Jean de Brébeuf, who was destined to render even the name of Jesuit still more illustrious. They were, perhaps, more suited to the Frontier than the Récollets, for they were less scrupulously pledged to poverty than the stricter Franciscans. For their ungracious welcome by the civil authorities they soon avenged themselves by inducing Cardinal de Richelieu to remove the

24. "They would willingly be baptized ten times a day for a glass of brandy and a pipe of tobacco." Ibid., i, 142; "Few real conversions are made among our Indians"; Ibid., i, 214.

Huguenots from the Old Company. The formation of the Company of One Hundred Associates was the immediate result. But if the civil authorities were ungracious, the Récollets welcomed the Jesuits within their convent. Under their joint auspices a dual mission was launched. The work of evangelization was extended along lines that the Récollets had tried,—during the summer to work the French posts, Quebec, Three Rivers, Tadoussac, supplying the spiritual needs of the French and of the Indians who encamped in the neighbourhood to trade, and then to follow an Indian band on its winter hunt. But the reward of the zealous labours of Récollets and Jesuits was the merest handful of converts. Lalemant had to report to the Jesuit General at Rome,—"The promise of success is not yet very great, so rude and almost brutish are the natives." [25] In fact the only certain results of the joint mission were the martyrdom of Father Nicholas Viel at the rapids near Montreal that still bear the name "Sault au Récollet"; journeys to the Huron, and even to the Niagara, country; the carrying off to France of a Huron boy who was baptized as Louis de Sainte Foy; and work on translation and dictionary by the Récollet Sagard, a translation by Brébeuf of Ledesma's Catechism for the Hurons, and the Lord's Prayer and other devotions rendered into Montagnais by Ennemond Massé.[26]

10. War With England.

Then came war between France and England. In 1628 the Company lost its fleet of provision ships. In 1629 Champlain surrendered Quebec to Sir David Kirke, and the Récollets and Jesuits were carried off to England. Little wonder all were oppressed by a sense of failure. The French Court was persuaded that the missionaries had failed to acquire the languages of the country sufficiently to do the

25. The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, selected and edited by Edna Kenton, p. 12.
26. Justin Winsor, Narrative and Critical History of America, Vol. IV (Ch. VI, by J. G. Shea), p. 265.

work of God and of his most Christian Majesty. Cardinal de Richelieu was so impressed with the failure of the two Orders that, when Canada was recovered to France, he passed over both Récollets and Jesuits and offered the mission to the Capuchins. Only when they refused did the Cardinal allow the Jesuits to return.

11. The Frontier Impregnable.

In both Acadia and Canada, with the most devoted and faithful missionaries of its two most zealous Orders, the Roman Catholic Church had essayed to evangelize the Frontier. And down to 1629 almost nothing of permanence had been achieved. "I loved the sea in my early years," wrote Champlain, "and through my whole life I have met its perils on the ocean and on the coasts of New France with the hope of seeing the lily of France able to protect there the holy Catholic religion." [27] But the lily of France was now displaced in Canada and the Roman Catholic mission had been brought low. The Frontier had proved impregnable. But if the Frontier had proved impregnable, the Frontier carried with it something of challenge, that was a guarantee of further efforts to win the natives. Christian Le Clercq, who was himself a missionary, has given adequate expression to this call of the Frontier:—

> "The missions of New France are very different from many others. There is nothing there to please nature; nothing that does not contradict the inclination of the senses,—insurmountable fatigues, sterile and thankless toil, little success in the conversion of souls, obstacles perfectly odious; and yet all who serve there with true zeal avow that there is a secret charm which binds them to the task, so that, if obedience or the necessity of circumstances withdraw them, they have had to do violence to their own feelings." [28]

27. C. W. Colby,—Canadian Types of the Old Régime, p. 62.
28. Le Clercq's First Establishment of the Faith in New France, translated by J. G. Shea, i, 323.

The Frontier had proved impregnable and the missionaries had been withdrawn. But it had not been the difficulties of the mission in itself, great as they were, that had forced their retirement. They had been driven forth by the necessities of the political situation. For to these brave Crusaders of the Faith the Frontier still beckoned. Need and Opportunity called from the wilderness of New France. And the missionaries stood ready to take up again the challenge of the Frontier if ever France regained control of Canada. That day was soon to dawn.

Chapter IV.

The Jesuits on the Frontier, 1632-1659---The Jesuit Relations, The Huron Martyrs and the Iroquois Warfare

1. The Return of the Jesuits.

For a full century France had been in touch with Canada. But the Frontier was still impregnable. Récollet and Jesuit alike had failed to achieve anything of permanence for religion. The Frontier had defeated the Mission. But a new day of opportunity had dawned. The Treaty of Saint Germain-en-Laye in 1632 restored Canada to France. When England reluctantly yielded up her conquest Cardinal de Richelieu resolved that a French Order should vigorously essay the task of evangelizing the tribes of Canada. He had little confidence in Récollet or Jesuit. He offered the Mission to his own favourite Order, the Capuchins. Only when these declined the battle with the Frontier did Richelieu permit the Jesuits to return to Canada. So it came that from 1632 dates the history of the great Jesuit Missions. "Their organization and methods," writes Munro, "admirably fitted them to be the pioneers of the Cross in new lands. They were men of action, seeking to win their crown of glory and their reward through intense physical and spiritual exertions, not through long seasons of prayer and meditation in cloistered seclusion." [1]

2. The Jesuit Relations.

The Mission Reports from the Frontier constitute the *Jesuit Relations*.

Each year the Jesuit missionaries in Canada forwarded to their Superior in Quebec or Montreal a journal

1. W. B. Munro, Crusaders of New France, p. 116.

of their mission experiences. These journals the Superior edited and, with oral reports made to him by missionaries on furlough from the Frontier, consolidated into a *Relation* which he sent to the Provincial of the Order in France. So voluminous and significant are the annals of the Jesuit mission that, instead of the missions being regarded as an incident in the history of New France, much of the civil history of Canada during its first century has to be culled from the annals of the Jesuit Relations.

3. Canada a Jesuit Mission.

Canada was constituted an Apostolic Vicariat by the Pope in 1657, and became an episcopal See, "the bishopric of Quebec," about 1674. Till the formal ecclesiastical organization was established at the earlier date Canada was not more a French possession than a Jesuit mission. During those years there was little difference in Canada between Church and State. In fact, after 1647, the Superior of the Jesuits was definitely assigned a seat in the Council.[2] For a quarter of a century after Cardinal de Richelieu permitted the Jesuits to renew their work on the Frontier, till 1659, the church in New France meant simply the mission of the Jesuits. But with the coming of Laval and the strengthening of the Civil Power the dominance of the Jesuits in the Colony came to an end.

4. Father le Jeune.

Among the earliest Jesuit arrivals, after the restoration of Canada to France, was Father Paul Le Jeune. Father Le Jeune came with the consecration of a crusader and the instincts and gifts of a journalist. He would not only *be* missionary, he would *create* missionaries. Through his pen he would have the Frontier speak its challenge to France. Within four months of arrival he had sent back his first despatch, simple, vivid, direct, the "Brief Relation of the Journey to New France." His reports were trumpet calls.

2. R. G. Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, XXX, 189.

They challenged men with their account of the condition and needs of the natives. His famous Relation of 1634, written "from the little house of Notre Dame des Anges in New France, August 7, 1634," is perhaps the most eloquent missionary pamphlet of the Seventeenth Century, and a complete mine of information concerning the Canadian wilderness and the life of the Indian Tribes.

5. The Relations.

The Jesuit Relations describe the happiness of the Héberts, the only French family settled in Canada,—"when they saw our ships coming in with the white flags upon the masts, they knew not how to express their joy. But when they saw us in their home, to celebrate the holy Mass, which they had not heard for three years, good God, what joy!" [3] They reveal the great Champlain, "Governor of Kebec and of the river St. Lawrence," erecting a chapel near the fort "in honor of our Lady" and ordering well the fort "like a well-ordered Academy; Monsieur de Champlain has some one read at his table, in the morning from some good historian, and in the evening from the lives of the Saints. He has the Angelus sounded at the beginning, in the middle and at the end of the day, according to the custom of the Church."[24] The Relations, naturally, are crammed with descriptions of the Indians, their appearance and dress, their beliefs and superstitions, their language, the nature of their cabins, with their cold, heat, smoke and dogs, their bravery in face of death, their dealing with war-prisoners, their cannibalism, their singing and dancing, their food, their fight with hunger, their hunting and fishing, their beginning to cultivate the soil, and their reception of the message of the Gospel. The Reports disclose to us the missionaries in the very business of ministering to the Indians. We

3. The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, selected and edited by Edna Kenton, p. 23.
4. Ibid., p. 47.

see them becoming teachers and baptizing the little savages, deliberating about the means of converting the Indians, facing hardships untold, not excluding the mosquitoes "which are little flies, troublesome in the extreme," struggling with the Indian languages which seemed to have no words for "piety, devotion, virtue," enduring taunts and insults, contending with the "prophets," suffering privations and, in not a few instances, martyrdoms. But the Jesuit Relations also reveal that nothing could daunt devoted men who calmly wrote,—"It is true that some persons generally die in these beginnings, but death is not always a great evil." [5] The Jesuits were supported by a moral heroism and an unquenchable religious zeal, seldom equalled and never surpassed, and by a sacramental view of salvation which brought them the conviction, denied to the Calvinists, that the Catholic missionary who had baptized an infant Indian sick unto death had rescued a soul from hell.

6. The Great Missions.

During the period 1632-1659 the Jesuits were engaged in establishing and fostering the following Great Missions in New France,—

1. The Abenaki or Micmac Mission in Acadia and in Cape Breton Island, founded in 1634 by Father Perrault.
2. The Montagnais Mission centred at Tadoussac, founded in 1640 by Father du Quen.
3. The Quebec and Montreal Missions (including also those at Three Rivers, Sillery, Bécancourt and St. Francis de Sales).
4. The Huron Mission.
5. The Iroquois Mission, inaugurated in 1642 by Father Jogues when he was carried off a prisoner of the Mohawks.

5. Ibid., p. 30.

6. The Ottawa Mission to the tribes beyond Lake Huron. In 1641 Jogues and Raymbault visited the Sault Ste. Marie, but work there was not vigorously prosecuted till after our period.

7. The Huron Mission.

It is, of course, impossible to describe in detail the work done in connection with these missions. But the Huron Mission with its martyrs has special claim upon our attention, for the Huron country was for long the Frontier of New France and the Hurons, as the middlemen of the Indian Fur Trade, were calculated to be best suited to mediate the Christian Faith to the other tribes of the Frontier. And in the destruction of the Hurons by the Iroquois we see the Frontier devouring its own children. In the Jesuit martyrdoms we behold the Iroquois killing Frontier missionaries and tomahawking them that were sent to evangelize the savages.

The Hurons (or Wyandots), the stem-stock out of which also sprang the Iroquois, were a group of Indians who had given up nomad habits to occupy a habitat lying between Lake Simcoe and Georgian Bay. Their number, on their first contact with the French, has been estimated variously, between 16,000 and 30,000. To the southwest of the Hurons lay the Tobacco Nation, to the southeast, along the Niagara, were the peaceful Neutrals. Further east, towards the present city of Albany, were the Iroquois, a warlike off-shoot of the Hurons themselves, kinsmen, but implacable foes.

Previous efforts had been made by both Récollets and Jesuits to evangelize the Hurons. But the Mission had necessarily been broken off when Champlain surrendered New France to Kirke. On their return, the Jesuits judged "that it was of vital importance to have a footing in the country." [6] Father Jean de Brébeuf, who had already laboured among the Hurons and had written a vow in blood to serve, was chosen

6. The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, selected and edited by Edna Kenton, p. 99.

Superior.[7] He has described his journey on which he set out on July 7, 1634, with Father Antoine Daniel. They carried their canoe across thirty-five portages and dragged it over fifty. Each portage required four trips. They had frequent fasts through missing the caches the Indians had made when descending. They had no leisure to recite their Breviary. The Indians stole much of Father Davost's outfit, compelled him to throw away a steel-mill, almost all their books, their linen and a good part of their paper, and finally deserted him.

(a) Methods of the Mission.

Arrived in the Huron country, the Jesuits built a cabin with chapel at Ihonatiria. Brébeuf describes their cabins,—

> "The cabins of this country are neither Louvres nor palaces, nor anything like the buildings of our France, not even like the smallest cottages. They are, however, somewhat better and more commodious than the hovels of the Montagnais. I cannot better express the fashion of the Huron dwellings than to compare them to bowers or garden arbors,—some of which, in place of branches and vegetation, are covered with cedar bark, some others with large pieces of ash, elm, fir, or spruce bark; and, although the cedar bark is best, according to common opinion and usage, there is, nevertheless, this inconvenience, that they are almost as susceptible to fire as matches. Hence arise many of the conflagrations of entire villages. . . . . There are no different stories; there is no cellar, no chamber, no garret. It has neither window nor chimney, only a miserable hole in the top of the cabin, left to permit the smoke to escape. This is the way they built our cabin for us." [8]

Their cabin was divided into three parts. There was an

7. John J. Wynne, The Jesuit Martyrs of North America, p. 62; Dean Harris, Pioneers of the Cross in Canada, 55.
8. The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, selected and edited by Edna Kenton, p. 108.

ante-chamber with storeroom for provisions. In the second part they lived, with kitchen, carpenter-shop, mill, refectory, parlor and bedroom. The third part was divided into two sections, one for chapel "in which we celebrate every day holy Mass and retire there daily to pray to God," the other for utensils.

The Jesuits aroused the admiration and affections of the Hurons by showing them their possessions,—a loadstone, a glass with eleven facets which represented a single object many times, a little phial in which a flea appeared as large as a beetle, a prism, their tools, and the writing done by the missionaries "for they could not conceive how, what one of us, being in the village, had said to them, and put down in the same time in writing, another, who meantime was in a house far away, could say readily on seeing the writing. I believe they have made a hundred trials of it."

They were fascinated by a clock which the Jesuits owned:

> "As to the clock a thousand things are said of it. They all think it is some living thing, for they cannot imagine how it sounds of itself; and when it is going to strike, they look to see if we are all there, and if some one has not hidden, in order to shake it. They think it hears, especially when, for a joke, one of our Frenchmen calls out at the last stroke of the hammer "That's enough," and then it immediately becomes silent. They call it the Captain of the day. When it strikes they say it is speaking; and they ask when they come to see us how many times the Captain has already spoken. They ask us about its food; they remain a whole hour, and sometimes several, in order to be able to hear it speak. They used to ask at first what it said. We told them two things that they have remembered very well; one, that when it sounded four o'clock of the afternoon, during winter, it was saying, "Go out, go away that we may close the door," for immediately

they arose, and went out. The other, that at the midday it said, *yo eiouahaoua*, that is "Come, put on the Kettle"; and this speech is better remembered than the other, for some of these spongers never fail to come at that hour, to get a share of our Sagamité."[9]

"All this," wrote Father Brébeuf, "serves to gain their affections, and to render them more docile when we introduce the admirable and incomprehensible mysteries of our Faith."[10] The Indians of the Frontier, though grown old in warfare, were but children in culture and in faith.

Brébeuf declared that the Hurons had neither temples nor priests nor feasts nor ceremonies. They believed in the immortality of the soul which they conceived to be corporeal. They made no distinction between good and bad. Their supersitions were infinite. They were gluttons, "very lazy, liars, thieves, pertinacious beggars." For all this, they exhibited a remarkable hospitality towards all strangers.

As soon as they were established in the country the Jesuits applied themselves assiduously to the study of the language. Before long they could preach publicly. In his Relation of May 27, 1635, Brébeuf has given us a view of the missionaries at work on the Frontier:

> "We call together the people by the help of the Captain of the village, who assembles them all in our house as in Council, or perhaps by the sound of the bell. I use the surplice and the square cap, to give more majesty to my appearance. At the beginning we chant on our knees the *Pater Noster*, translated into Huron verse. Father Daniel, as its author, chants a couplet alone, and then we all together chant it again; and those among the Hurons, principally the little ones, who already know it, take pleasure in chanting it with us. That done, when every one is seated, I rise and make the sign of the Cross for all; then,

9. The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, selected and edited by Edna Kenton, p. 110.
10. Ibid., p 111.

having recapitulated what I said last time, I explain something new. After that we question the young children and the girls, giving a little bead of glass or porcelain to those who deserve it. The parents are very glad to see their children answer well and carry off some little prize of which they render themselves worthy by the care they take to come privately to get instruction. On our part, to arouse their emulation, we have each lesson retraced by our two little French boys, who question each other,—which transports the Savages with admiration. Finally, the whole is concluded by the talk of the Old Men, who propound their difficulties, and sometimes make me listen in my turn to the statement of their belief."[11]

"We hope," concludes Brébeuf, writing on May 27, 1635, from "our little House of St. Joseph in the village of Ihonatiria in the Huron Country," "we hope one day to see here a flourishing Christianity." That he might contribute to a consummation so highly to be desired Brébeuf sent to headquarters "Instructions for the Fathers of our Society who shall be sent to the Hurons."[12] The following are brief quotations,—

"You must have sincere affection for the Savages,—looking upon them as ransomed by the blood of the Son of God, and as our Brethren with whom we are to pass the rest of our lives.

To conciliate the Savages, you must be careful never to make them wait for you in embarking.

You must provide yourself with a tinder-box or with a burning-mirror, or with both, to furnish them fire in the daytime to light their pipes, and in the evening when they have to encamp; these little services win their hearts.

You should try to eat their sagamité or salmagundi in the way they prepare it, although it may be dirty, half-cooked and very tasteless.

11. The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, selected and edited by Edna Kenton, pp. 115-116.
12. Ibid., pp. 118-121.

Each one should be provided with half a gross of awls, two or three dozen little knives called jambettes (pocket-knives), a hundred fish-hooks, with some beads of plain and colored glass, with which to buy fish or other articles when the tribes meet each other, so as to feast the Savages; and it would be well to say to them in the beginning, "Here is something with which to buy fish." Each one will try, at the portages, to carry some little thing, according to his strength; however little one carries, it greatly pleases the savages, if it be only a kettle."

Father Brébeuf impressed strongly upon the missionaries that they were coming to a Frontier,—

"For, leaving a highly civilized community, you fall into the hands of barbarous people who care but little for your Philosophy or your Theology. All the fine qualities which might make you loved and respected in France are like pearls trampled under the feet of swine, or rather mules, which utterly despise you when they see that you are not as good pack animals as they are. If you could go naked, and carry the load of a horse upon your back, as they do, then you would be wise according to their doctrine, and would be recognized as a great man, otherwise not."

Other missionaries arrived on the Frontier and the labours of the Jesuits extended in the Huron country. Some engaged in the instruction of children, each missionary being assigned a group of cabins in a village. When the Hurons brought in an Iroquois prisoner the Fathers ministered to him during the excruciating torture. On the one side was a Huron chief encouraging his braves "all to do their duty, representing to them the importance of this act, which was viewed, he said, by the Sun and by the God of war." On the other side was the Father Superior imploring the prisoner to say in his torments, "Jesus taïtenr," "Jesus, have pity on

me!" The Jesuits would, naturally, have desired to prevent such scenes. But they were the custom of the Frontier,—

> "It is not yet in our power; we are not yet the Masters here; it is not a trifling matter to have a whole country opposed to one,—a barbarous country, too, such as this is. Superstitions and customs grown old, and authorized by the lapse of so many centuries, are not so easy to abolish. Yet we are full of hope."

Disease constantly broke out among the Hurons. In their plight the Jesuits informed the Indians that God took great pleasure in the vows that were addressed to Him in these necessities. They exhorted the Indians to build a little Chapel in His honour "in case it might please Him to make this contagion disappear altogether." So was built for the Mission the "residence of the Conception of Nostre Dame at the Hamlet of Ossosane." Here was baptized Tsiouendaentaha, who was named Peter,—among adults the first-fruits of three years' labour. In their hour of hope the Jesuits rearranged the stationing of their missionaries among the Hurons and sent forth Fathers Garnier and Jogues to evangelize the savages of the Tobacco Nation. But their courage and faith were abruptly and sorely tried. A medicine-man accused the Jesuits of being responsible for the plague that was raging, and called a great Council of nearly thirty villages in the hope of having all the missionaries put to death. In this crisis the courage of Brébeuf was magnificent. His very fearlessness in defending the Mission carried the day and saved the lives of the Jesuits. But in the hour when their fate still hung in the balance Brébeuf wrote, and all signed, a letter to the Superior of the Order, as brave and noble and calm as may be found in missionary literature,—

> "I will tell you that all our Fathers await the outcome of this affair with great calmness and contentment of mind. And, for myself, I can say to your reverence with all sincerity that I have not yet had the least apprehension of

death for such a cause. But we are all sorry for this,—that these poor barbarians, through their own malice, are closing the door to the Gospel and to grace. Whatever conclusion they reach, and whatever treatment they give us, we will try, by the grace of Our Lord, to endure it patiently for His service. It is a singular favor that His goodness extends to us, to make us endure something for His sake. . . . . If any survive, I have given orders as to all they are to do. I have deemed it advisable for our Fathers and our domestics to withdraw to the houses of those whom they regard as their best friends; I have charged them to carry to the house of Pierre, our first Christian, all that belongs to the sacristy,—above all, to be especially careful to put our dictionary, and all that we have of the language, in a place of safety. As for myself, if God grant me the grace to go to heaven, I will pray Him for them, for the poor Hurons, and I will not forget your reverence."

In 1639 a new policy was adopted for the Huron mission. At his earnest request, in August, 1638, Brébeuf had been relieved of responsibility as Superior, and Father Jerome Lalemant had been appointed successor. It was now decided to erect on the River Wye the mission-house of Ste. Marie. This mission centre was separated from, but convenient to, the Indian villages. A palisaded enclosure or fort, it was significant as the first permanent outpost on the Frontier of New France. In this work began the consecrated work of the donnés, lay-brothers, at first six in number, who undertook to devote their whole life to the Huron mission.

But Ste. Marie was the centre for the work even beyond the Hurons. Jogues and Garnier, as we have seen, sought to evangelize the Tobacco Nation. The charge of sorcery preceded them and rendered their first efforts futile. But Garnier returned a second time and established a flourishing mission. About 1640 Jogues and Raymbault reached Sault

Ste. Marie and planted there a great cross facing the Frontier of the Far West. Brébeuf and Chaumonot succeeded in establishing the Mission of the Angels among the Neutrals. Here, too, was raised the charge of sorcery and of responsibility for the spread of disease and death. In the Indian Council called to determine their fate Brébeuf's courageous eloquence saved the missionaries, but only after three adverse votes, and, even then, on condition of their retirement from the mission. On the homeward journey Brébeuf fell, broke his shoulder blade and suffered excruciating agony before he reached Ste. Marie.

Progress was slow on the Frontier. "But if some asks," wrote Lalemant in 1639, "when we shall execute this great plan for converting the Hurons—seeing that hardly have we yet made a beginning, or advanced one step in these countries since we have been here,—my answer to this question is, first, that even if this is not to be accomplished until shortly before the end of the world, yet it is always necessary to begin before ending . . . . . We have sometimes wondered whether we could hope for the conversion of this country without the shedding of blood."

(b) The Huron martyrs and the Iroquois Warfare.

The period 1642-1659 constitutes the years of the Huron martyrs and the Iroquois warfare. In 1642 the Iroquois took to the warpath. Father Jogues, sent to Quebec to conduct the sick Raymbault and to procure equipment for the mission, was captured on the return journey by the Mohawks and carried into the Iroquois country.

And now begin in the *Jesuit Relations* those annals of revolting cruelty on the Frontier and that recital of intolerable tortures nobly borne that have made the Jesuits glorious in the story of New France and the name of Iroquois a synonym for refined brutality. "The letter is badly written," apologizes a Jesuit missionary, "and quite soiled, because, in addition to other inconveniences, he who writes it has only

one whole finger on his right hand; and it is difficult to avoid staining the paper with the blood which flows from his wounds, not yet healed."[13] But soiled though the paper was, it bore a noble story of heroic deaths. The Martyr Roll of Honour carries the names of Isaac Jogues, Jean de Brébeuf, Gabriel Lalemant, Noel Chabanel, Antoine Daniel, Charles Garnier, René Goupil and Jean Lalande.

(1) René Goupil.

Most of the Huron companions of Jogues and René Goupil were put to death. They themselves were tormented and mutilated. The Iroquois beat them with their fists and with knotty sticks, pulled out their nails, bit their fingers, tore out their hair and beards, burned and twisted their hands, struck René so many blows on the face that "nothing was seen of him but the whites of his eyes," ordered an old woman to cut off their thumbs, forced them over long marches, threw them at nights on the bare ground bound with chains, threw coals and live ashes on their bare flesh, exposed them to the storms, bound them upright between stakes, led them from village to village to be mocked and flouted. Finally they tomahawked René. "He was a man," wrote his companion, "of unusual simplicity and innocence of life, of invincible patience, and very conformable to the Divine Will." The Indians had regarded him as a sorcerer because of his devotion in prayer, and hated him because he so often made the sign of the cross on the brows of the children. The Indians tied a rope to René's corpse, dragged him naked through the whole village and threw him into the river. Jogues diligently sought his body to give it Christian burial:

> "I go again, I seek everywhere, and I myself go into the river up to my waist,—although it was swollen by the night's rains, and cold, since it was the month of October. I seek him with my hands and with my feet; they tell me that the high water has removed him elsewhere. I hold

13. John J. Wynne, The Jesuit Martyrs of North America, 74-75.

obsequies for him as best I can, singing the psalms and prayers thereto appointed by the Church; I mingle my tears with the water of the torrent; I groan and sigh. I can gain no news of him before the following spring, when, the snows being melted, the young men of the country notify me that they have seen his bones on the same bank of the river; these, together with the head, having reverently kissed, I then finally buried as best I could."[14]

When the Iroquois spared his life Jogues believed it his duty to serve them as missionary, though in slavery. He hoped by evangelizing the Iroquois to prevent warfare with the Hurons. Later, when he saw that this hope was not to be realized and that to remain longer was simply to court death, he availed himself of an opportunity to escape to the Dutch, vowing, however, if possible, to return as missionary. It was a striking welcome he received in France, an ambassador of suffering direct from the Frontier. He felt it keenly to be precluded from celebrating Mass by reason of his mutilated fingers. But Pope Urban VIII accorded him special permission,—"It would be unjust that a martyr for Christ should not drink the Blood of Christ."

(2) Isaac Jogues and Jean Lalande.

In 1644 Jogues was again in New France, labouring at Montreal, recently founded, when the Iroquois sought peace with the French. The Iroquois refused to include the Hurons in the conference. They had evidently determined upon the destruction of the hapless Hurons, and thought the more easily to accomplish their nefarious design if all danger of attack in the rear were removed by concluding peace on the St. Lawrence. The French selected Jogues to negotiate with the Iroquois chiefs at Ossernenon. The peace mission successfully accomplished, Jogues remembered his vow to evangelize the savages who had already so cruelly maltreated

14. Ibid., 173-174; Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, selected and edited by Edna Kenton, 203-210.

him. He made preparations to return as missionary and left behind for his work a box of pious articles. This proved to be a fatal mistake. For the crops failed that year and an epidemic raged. For these misfortunes the Mohawks superstitiously blamed the box. And now news came that Jogues was returning in person. The unbridled passion of the Frontier flamed forth. The Mohawks waylaid Jogues and his companion, Jean Lalande, and a faithful Huron guide. They stripped and abused them. On the evening of October 18th they invited Jogues to a meal. As he entered a cabin they treacherously tomahawked him. They placed his head on a palisade pole, facing the route over which he had come as missionary. The Apostle to the Iroquois had become Martyr of the Frontier. Next day they tomahawked Lalande and the Huron guide and tossed their bodies into the river. "And others," wrote the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, inscribing a Scroll of Honour for those who had obtained a good report through faith, "had trial of cruel mockings and scourgings, yea, moreover of bonds and imprisonment; they were stoned, they were sawn asunder."

(3) Antoine Daniel.

The Hurons were now doomed, and the martyrdom of their missionaries at hand. Their sole hope had lain in Jogues. Had he lived to evangelize the Iroquois, his beloved Hurons might have remained in peace and been won to Christ. For the number of missionaries among them had grown to twenty-four and the Word of God was having good success. "We might hope," wrote Jogues, "if we now enjoyed peace, to bring all in a short time to the Faith." And Vimont confirmed this anticipation: "I see stronger tendencies than ever towards the total conversion of these peoples." But the end was at hand. On July 4, 1648, the Iroquois appeared at Teanaustayé just as Father Daniel had finished celebrating Mass. The fury of the assailants was terrific. Panic seized the Hurons. Father Daniel ran everywhere, encour-

aging, exhorting his poor Hurons, and, in the extremity, sought, since he could not save their lives, to win their souls for Christ. Fear accomplished what long hours of patient preaching had failed to effect. "Having made a breach," wrote Raguenau, "in hearts which till then had been most rebellious, he gave them a Christian heart. The number of these proved to be so great that, unable to cope with it by baptizing them one after the other, he was constrained to dip his handkerchief in the water (which was all that necessity then offered him), in order to shed abroad as quickly as possible this grace on those poor savages, who cried mercy to him,—using the manner of baptizing which is called 'by aspersion.'" The new converts huddled together in the Jesuit church. Daniel urged them to flee through the rear door. He himself, closing the front door, went forth alone to stem the onrush of the infuriated Iroquois. It was madness, but it was splendid. The *Jesuit Relations* give a vivid picture of the scene:—

> "'Flee, my brothers,' cried Father Daniel to his new Christians, 'and bear with you your Faith even to the last sigh. As for me (he added) I must face death here, as long as I shall see here any soul to be gained for Heaven; and, dying here to save you, my life is no longer anything to me; we shall see one another again in heaven.' At the same time, he goes out in the direction whence come the enemy, who stop in astonishment to see one man alone come to meet them, and even recoil backward, as if he bore upon his face the terrible and frightful appearance of a whole company. Finally,—having come to their senses a little, and being astonished at themselves,—they incite one another; they surround him on all sides, and cover him with arrows, until, having inflicted upon him a mortal wound from an arquebus shot,—which pierced him through and through, in the very middle of his breast, —he fell. Pronouncing the name of Jesus, he blessedly

yielded up his soul to God,—truly as a good pastor, who exposes both his soul and his life for the salvation of his flock. It was then that those barbarians rushed upon him with as much rage as if he alone had been the object of their hatred. They strip him naked, they exercise upon him a thousand indignities; and there was hardly anyone who did not try to assume the glory of having given him the final blow, even on seeing him dead. The fire meanwhile was consuming the cabins; and when it had spread as far as the church, the Father was cast into it, at the height of the flames, which soon made of him a whole burnt-offering. Be this as it may, he could not have been more gloriously consumed than in the fires and lights of a '*Chapelle ardente*.' "[15]

(4) Jean de Brébeuf and Gabriel Lalemant.

Next year, March 16, 1649, the Iroquois again attacked. Brébeuf and Lalemant suffered martyrdon at the village of St. Ignace. The Iroquois stripped both the missionaries and bound them to a post. They tore the nails from their fingers and cudgelled every part of their bodies. In the midst of their torments Brébeuf encouraged the captive Christians with him "to suffer well, that they might die well, in order to go in company with him to Paradise." They poured kettles of boiling water three times over Brébeuf in mockery of baptism. They cut off the hands of Brébeuf and pierced Lalemant's body with sharp awls and iron points. They hung red-hot hatchets under their arms and between their legs, and made a necklace of heated hatchets about their neck in such a way that every motion of their bodies added a fresh torture. Then they put on Brébeuf a belt of bark, full of pitch and resin, and set fire to it, and roasted his whole body. The account of Christophe Regnaut continues:—

15. John J. Wynne, The Jesuit Martyrs of North America, pp. 199-200; The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, selected and edited by Edna Kenton, pp. 211-218.

"During all these torments, Father de Brébeuf endured like a rock, insensible to fire and flames, which astonished all the blood-thirsty wretches who tormented him. His zeal was so great that he preached continually to these infidels, to try to convert them. His executioners were enraged against him for constantly speaking to them of God and of their conversion. To prevent him from speaking more, they cut off his tongue, and both his upper and lower lips. After that, they set themselves to strip the flesh from his legs, thighs and arms, to the very bone; and then put it to roast before his eyes, in order to eat it.

While they tormented him in this manner, those wretches derided him, saying, "Thou seest plainly that we treat thee as a friend, since we shall be the cause of thy Eternal happiness; thank us, then, for these good offices which we render thee,—for, the more thou shalt suffer, the more will thy God reward thee."

Those butchers, seeing that the good Father began to grow weak, made him sit down on the ground; and one of them, taking a knife, cut off the skin covering his skull. Another one of those barbarians, seeing that the good Father would soon die, made an opening in the upper part of his chest, and tore out his heart, which he roasted and ate. Others came to drink his blood, still warm, which they drank with both hands,—saying that Father de Brébeuf had been very courageous to endure so much pain as they had given him, and that, by drinking his blood, they would become courageous like him."[16]

Brébeuf died about four o'clock of the afternoon of the day of his capture. Lalemant endured many of the same tortures, but survived till dawn of the next day. The Iroquois then clove his head asunder. Regnaut later placed their bones into two small chests and reverently carried them to Quebec.

16. The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, selected and edited by Edna Kenton, p. 222.

(5) Charles Garnier and Noel Chabanel.

Early in November of the same year Fathers Charles Garnier and Noel Chabanel won the martyr's crown in the country of the Tobacco Nation. Garnier fell, shot by an Iroquois, and then despatched by two blows of a hatchet upon the temples. Some Christian Indians buried him on the site of the church, founded by himself, which the Iroquois had burned. Chabanel was probably murdered by an apostate Huron.

(c) The End of the Huron Mission.

The bloody victories of the Iroquois effected the dispersal of the Huron Nation and the abandonment of the Huron Mission. The Indians forsook their lands, houses and villages to escape the cruelty of an enemy "whom they feared more than a thousand deaths." Some retreated to the forests. Some took refuge in the islands of the Great Lakes. Some cast in their lot with the Tobacco and Neutral Nations. One tribe even departed with the Iroquois to the Seneca country.

In June, 1650, the Jesuits abandoned the country of the Hurons. With deep emotion they bade farewell to their loved Mission on the Frontier. They took with them to the St. Lawrence a group of converts, the merest relic of the great Huron Nation. These they established near Quebec on the Isle of Orleans. But even there the implacable hatred of the Iroquois followed the luckless Hurons, and the French were forced to move them to Lorette.

Thus ended the Huron Mission, a battle for the Frontier, carried on for thirty-five years in all from the coming of the Récollet Father Le Caron. Twenty-nine missionaries had served within the bounds of the wilderness field. Seven Jesuits had won the martyrs' crown. And the Frontier was still impregnable.

8. The Iroquois.

It was a terrible record of ruin and blood that the Iroquois had achieved,—the destruction of Montagnais on the St. Lawrence, of Algonquins on the Ottawa, and, farther west, of the Huron, Tobacco and Neutral Nations; the intimidation of the French settlements; and the near-ruin of the fur trade. In this hour of despair some of the missionaries returned to Europe. But when the prospect was darkest and the Frontier appeared most unassailable,—suddenly hope revived. The Iroquois proposed peace and asked for the Jesuits. The reason lay in their old war policy,—to ensure their rear against attack when taking the war path. So in the time of Father Jogues they had asked the French for peace in order to concentrate against the Hurons. Now in the time of Father Poncet they asked the French for peace in order to resist the Eries and the Susquehannas. The Frontier was calling for the Black Gowns. It seemed as though in New France the blood of the martyrs was to be the seed of the church.

Chapter V.

The Westward Extension of the Frontier A Century of Rivalry, 1659-1759

1. Frontier Expansion.

In 1659 there was no permanent outpost of New France left beyond the St. Lawrence. But the century between that date and the capture of Quebec in 1759 constitutes an epic of Frontier expansion. With the growth of the Frontier the area of the Church's operations was correspondingly enlarged.

Already we have seen Champlain carry forward the work of Cartier. The motive of his whole career was to find either a Western or a Northern Sea opening the route to China. He reached the Huron country by way of Lake Nipissing and Georgian Bay, then crossed by Lake Simcoe and the Trent system to Lake Ontario to do battle with the Onondagas in the country of the Iroquois. The search for the Western Sea was not abandoned for many a year, but a fresh motive now inspired the work of exploration,—the determination to occupy North America for France. It was Colbert, Talon and La Salle who translated this ambition into public policy. Though their work had not then been inaugurated, by 1659 the exploration already accomplished had found the paths which such a policy must inevitably follow. Following in the train of Champlain were Brûlé who reached Sault Ste. Marie and the copper mines of Lake Superior; Jean Nicolet, who entered Lake Michigan and, by way of Green Bay, established friendly relations with the Winnebagoes of the Dakota stock; Groseilliers and Radisson who by 1659 had reached the prairies and visited the Crees and Sioux and thus could claim to be the discoverers of the

Great West. Soon afterwards these brothers-in-law made their way by the Albany to James Bay and became the founders of the Hudson's Bay Company. But these explorations only served to emphasize the Frontier character of New France and the failure of the Company of One Hundred Associates to colonize the country. In 1663 there were scarcely more than 100 farms and only between 2,500 and 3,000 white inhabitants in all Canada. The whole country was still a Frontier.

The Company of One Hundred Associates had failed to transform the Frontier of Canada into settled communities. It was more interested in trading pelts than in bringing to the country colonists who only drove the fur-bearing animals farther into the wilderness. And perhaps the Jesuit Relations, now widely published in France, with their tales of the Frontier and their stories of gruesome, though glorious, martyrdoms, were of a nature rather to challenge the emulation of missionaries than to induce settlers to brave the hazards of a life exposed to Indian attacks. It was, however, the deliberate purpose of Colbert to people Canada and to develop and exploit the natural resources of the country. Accordingly, in 1663, Louis XIV revoked the charter of the Company and placed New France under royal rule. Canada was now to be governed by a policy of paternalism, of direct administration, for, according to the Intendant Talon, who most adequately in the New World represented the policy and spirit of Colbert, "an uncivilized country cannot form itself," but must be "aided in its commencements."[1] For the Frontier is ever pre-eminently the home of need.

2. The Carignan-Salieres Regiment.

In the meantime it was necessary to ensure peace on the Frontier. Governor d'Avaugour wrote to the Prince Condé,—

1. Mack Eastman, Church and State in Early Canada, 95.

"At Quebec, they are strong enough to resist their enemies; but, as regards the remainder of the settlements, they are scattered in a still more unsocial fashion than are the savages themselves. As a proof of this, there are 1,000 men, and, in all, less than 3,000 souls residing over an extent of 80 leagues; and these also very frequently pay dearly for their folly."

To crush the Iroquois, Louis XIV in 1665 sent out the Marquis de Tracy with the Carignan-Salières Regiment. Forts were established at Sorel and along the Richelieu. A "holy war" was undertaken against the Mohawks, with Jesuits serving as chaplains and the soldiers wearing scapularies of the Holy Virgin. For the avowed aim of the expeditions was no less to establish the name of Christ than to exterminate the Iroquois and to secure the domination of France. The results from the campaigns of de Tracy were constructive for New France. The officers of the regiment with their soldiers were established as a new protective frontier along the Richelieu. The Iroquois were cowed into peace for two decades. During these twenty years vigorous measures were adopted in France to build up the population of Canada. Women were sent out as wives for the soldiers of the Carignan-Salières Regiment. Consignments of settlers were despatched, mostly from Normandy, sailing from Dieppe, but also from the west coast, embarking from Rochelle. In less than a decade the population quadrupled. "It is safe to say," says Bradley, "that the great bulk of the 2,000,000 French Canadians now in North America are descended from people who arrived in Canada before 1686."[2] Louis XIV, however, needed the hardy peasantry of France for his wars and stopped the movement of emigration. Had the flow continued Canada might have lost many of its peculiar qualities as a Frontier. Even as it was, its seclusion

2. A. G. Bradley, Canada, p. 138.

in the New World retained for Canada permanently the language and many of the customs of the days of the Grand Monarque.

3. Talon, Patron of the Widening Frontier.

The Intendant Talon not only promoted immigration, and fostered agriculture, manufacturing and ship-building; he also gave an impulse to western exploration and inspired men with the thought of a French Dominion in America that would both hem the English in close to the Atlantic seaboard and advance the cause of religion for the Roman Church. Talon was the patron of the Frontier. "In his memorial of 1673," writes Eastman, "Talon summed up the policy of Louis XIV as the simultaneous extension of the Kingdom of God and the Kingdom of France. The King's intentions had been fulfilled by his subjects who had carried into unknown countries 'along with the terror of his arms the cross which they had planted for his religion and the escutcheon of France which they had erected for his state, the name of Christian which they had given with baptism and the French name which these people had received, which they feared and revered'."[3]

4. New Outposts.

It was in 1665 that Talon came to New France. By 1669 the rumours concerning the great inland rivers had taken on sufficiently definite shape to induce Talon to have the waterways explored. It was desirable, also, to find a less laborious route than that by Nipissing to the copper mines of Lake Superior.

In 1669 two Sulpician priests, François Dollier de Casson and René de Bréhant de Galinée, set forth from Montreal to carry the Gospel to savage tribes of the south-west and to evangelize a new Frontier. With the approval of the secular and ecclesiastical authorities they were joined by a young man who was destined to attain to great fame as an explorer,

3. Mack Eastman, Church and State in Early Canada, 98.

La Salle. They proceeded by way of the St. Lawrence, Lake Ontario and the Grand River. Near the present village of Westover, Ontario, they met on the trail Joliet and Peré, who, seeking for Talon an easier route to transport ore from the copper mine on Lake Superior, had come down the chain of the Great Lakes. Joliet had abandoned his canoe, probably near Port Stanley. Friction had developed between La Salle and the priests. Joliet and La Salle went eastward to Montreal to engage later in their exploration of the great waterways. The Sulpician priests, determined to evangelize the Pottawattamies of whom Joliet had told them, pushed westward and wintered on the shore of Lake Erie near Port Dover.[4] On March 23, 1670, they set up a cross at this point to take possession of the country in the name of Louis XIV. Three days later they proceeded along the Erie shore, found Joliet's canoe, and, finally, in a storm off Point Pelee, lost their altar service, and part of their guns, ammunition and provisions. This disaster put an end to their mission project for the new Frontier. They now determined to go to the Sault and descend by the Nipissing route. At the Sault they found Marquette and Dablon. This journey made by Dollier de Casson is important because it encircles most of the Frontier of New France as known up to 1670 and reveals to us the location at that date of explorers who greatly extended the Frontier. It is important, also, because on his return de Galinée drew for Talon the first map of the Upper Lakes made at first hand and thereby inspired the Intendant to push forward the work of exploration.

In 1672 Father Albanel reached James Bay overland. In the same year Joliet wintered at Michilimackinac with Marquette. In the spring of 1673 these two, fur-trader and priest, set forth on their journey of exploration by way of Green Bay and the Wisconsin River. Reaching the Mississippi they floated down stream past the mouths of the Mis-

4. "The Lake Erie Cross, Port Dover, Ontario," issued by Canadian National Parks, Historic Sites, 1922.

souri, Ohio and Arkansas till at length the fear of the Spaniards forced them to turn back.[5] During these very days Frontenac was building Fort Cataraqui at the juncture of the St. Lawrence, Rideau and Lake Ontario. In charge of this fort he put La Salle. It was La Salle who took up in 1681-1682 the task of Joliet and Marquette. He traced the Mississippi to its mouth and set up a pillar with the inscription:

Louis le Grand, Roi de France et de
Navarre, Regne : le Neuvieme, Avril
1682

In this way he took possession of Louisiana. La Salle, of all the explorers, was most imbued with the thought of, and made the most striking contribution towards, the project, which was the dream of Colbert and Talon, to found in North America a great French Empire resting on the St. Lawrence, the Great Lakes and the full length of the Mississippi River. But when he endeavoured to found a French colony at the mouth of the Mississippi, La Salle was shot on March 19, 1687, by a member of his mutinous crew. This enterprise was carried forward by Le Moyne d' Iberville, who in 1699 succeeded in building a fort at the mouth of the river at Biloxi. In 1718 his brother, Bienville, founded New Orleans on a "dry spot" which d' Iberville had believed to be too far from the Gulf for commercial convenience and too near the Indians for safety.[6]

In 1679 Du Lhut, at the western end of Lake Superior, arranged a peace with the Sioux, Crees and Assiniboines. For thirty years he devoted himself to extending French power among the western tribes whom he succeeded in keeping at peace with each other. He established his main trading post at the mouth of the Kaministikwia at the spot where Fort

5. The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, selected and edited by Edna Kenton, pp. 333-366.
6. Charles B. Reed, the First Great Canadian, the Story of Pierre Le Moyne, Sieur d' Iberville, ch. XII.

William now stands. In 1686 he built another post at Port Huron between Lake Huron and Lake St. Clair.

5. The Frontier of the Waterways.

France now controlled the Frontier of the St. Lawrence, the Great Lakes and the Mississippi. Armed forts at strategic points guarded the northern river and settlements were planted along the southern. Outposts protected the passageways connecting the Great Lakes. And on the Atlantic seaboard frowned the guns of Louisbourg. If the French could but command the Ohio River they might completely shut in the New England colonies between the Atlantic and the Mississippi River. But at the very moment they took in hand to secure the Ohio River in order to consolidate the Frontier, settlers from New York, Pennsylvania and Virginia began to push over the borders of those colonies to trade and to dispute possession.[7] The struggle for the Ohio valley was crucial in the contest for mastery of the North American continent. The rivalry became acute when the French, on the present site of Pittsburg, built Fort Duquesne. In the Frontier of the backwoods of Ohio began the struggle in America which ended only with the capture of Quebec.

6. Ohio and Quebec.

The period 1688-1815 witnessed in India, Europe and America a long-drawn-out duel between France and Great Britain. The Seven Years' War revealed the issue at stake in all three continents as did no other war of the eighteenth century. But it was the contest in America, and particularly the struggle for the Ohio and for Quebec, that indicated most clearly that the prolonged contest was a fight for the Frontier. That Frontier in America had been the gift to France of Cartier, Champlain and Radisson, of Joliet, Marquette and La Salle.

7. I. Lippincott, Commerce and Navigation of the Mississippi Valley to the Year 1846, pp. 114-115.

7. Problems of the Church.

Arising out of the Frontier nature of New France during the century, 1659-1759, were the Church's activity in mission work, extending over an area widening as exploration proceeded, and her policy in the matter of movable curés and in the quarrels over precedence and the liquor traffic.

(a) Jurisdiction on the Frontier,—Bishop Laval.

It had long been customary in the Roman Church that missionaries setting out to labour in distant countries should secure their credentials from the episcopal authority closest to their port of embarkation. Missionaries had invariably departed to New France from Normandy and had, accordingly, made their applications to the Archbishops of Rouen. As a consequence these prelates had naturally come to regard Canada as an outlying portion or Frontier of their diocese.[8] Owing to this circumstance there arose a contest between rival candidates for the episcopal jurisdiction of Canada.

In 1656 the Company of Montreal had obtained for the Colony the services of four Sulpicians. For bishop these Sulpicians favoured one of their own number, Abbé de Queylus, the candidate sponsored by the Archbishop of Rouen. The Jesuits, the rules of whose Order precluded them from accepting the honour for themselves, proposed the name of François de Laval, suggesting that he be sent as apostolic vicar with the functions and powers of a missionary bishop. Pope Alexander VII accepted the Jesuit plan, and Laval was consecrated at Paris, on Sunday, December 8, 1658, in the church of St. Germain-des-Prés.[9] He became Bishop of Petraea *in partibus infidelium*, for his diocese was recognized as a mission Frontier.

Laval arrived in Quebec on June 16, 1659. With his arrival New France ceased to be solely a Jesuit mission. Laval

8. F. X. Garneau, History of Canada, translated by A. Bell, I, 199.
9. A. Leblond de Brumath, Bishop Laval, p. 27.

soon found that the jurisdiction of an apostolic vicar on the Frontier was open to dispute. The Jesuits and Sulpicians already had in Canada each their own grand vicar. As he had been their own candidate, the Jesuits readily submitted to the authority of Laval. The Sulpicians, however, accepted the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Petraea only on command of the King. Then the Archbishop of Rouen intervened. To his interference Laval replied by insisting that all the priests in New France disavow foreign jurisdictions. He would not have Canada to be the Frontier of Rouen. The dispute dragged on for months and years. Finally Laval suspended his rival, the Abbé returned to France under instructions from the King, and Rome was appealed to for a final decision. The pope accorded the entire jurisdiction of Canada to Laval, whereupon the Bishop of Petraea appointed de Queylus his grand vicar at Montreal where the Abbé rendered loyal and devoted service. But if the personal rivalry was thus happily removed there still remained unsettled the claim of jurisdiction on the part of Rouen. On June 28, 1664, Louis XIV requested the pope to make Laval Bishop of Quebec.

The request was not granted for nearly a decade. The reason for the delay lay in the Frontier character of the Church in Canada and in the demand of the King of France that the new diocese should be dependent upon the metropolitan of Rouen. The pope insisted that Quebec should be an immediate dependency of the Holy See. On October 1, 1674, the pope finally established the diocese of Quebec and granted the King the right of nomination to the bishopric. Laval thus became Bishop of Quebec, his diocese being no longer a Frontier of Rouen, but a dependency of Rome. The work in Canada was still largely missionary.

Up to 1659 the Jesuits had attended to all the spiritual needs of the Colony. On the arrival of Laval they resigned all the parishes in which they had laboured. It was their

purpose henceforth to confine their attention to their college and their Indian missions on the Frontier.

(b) The Seminary and the Movable Curés.

But not the Indian missions alone, the parishes also of New France still constituted a Frontier. On arrival Laval founded the Seminary at Quebec. That he designed the Seminary as an instrument of mission service is evident from two features of the policy he pursued. First, he affiliated his Seminary with the Seminary of Foreign Missions at Paris. Secondly, he employed the Seminary as a base of operations for the parishes along the St. Lawrence as well as for the Indian missions which, in this period, extended as far afield as Acadia, Illinois and the lower Mississippi.[10] Under the Frontier conditions of New France Laval desired no fixed livings, but that all priests be removable by right and subject to recall at the will of the bishop. This is clearly indicated in his Ordinance relating to the Seminary.[11]

To have curés, not fixed to a single parish but itinerant or movable, ready to be sent wherever the bishop might decide, was the only hope of meeting the spiritual needs of Frontier parishes so ill supplied at that time with curés, with churches, and with presbyteries for the priests' residence. A further explanation of Laval's policy to have movable curés, to which Munro has drawn attention, lies in the fact that, if regular curés were appointed, "the seigneurs would lay claim to various rights of nomination or patronage, whereas the bishop could control absolutely the selection of missionary priests and could thus more easily carry through his policy of ecclesiastical centralization."[12] And Abbé Gosselin has pointed out that Frontenac found that this policy left the priests too dependent on the bishop, and that the clergy, thus closely connected with the seminary and the

10. Justin Winsor, Narrative and Critical History of America, iv, vi, 267.
11. A. Leblond de Brumath, Bishop Laval, 47-48.
12. W. B. Munro, Crusaders of New France, 124; also Documents relating to the Seigniorial Tenure in Canada, 88-90.

bishop, were too powerful and formidable a body in the Colony. For this reason the Great Governor, in his resolve to be supreme in New France, undertook a campaign for permanent livings. Frontenac dealt a blow to Laval's system through procuring the edict of May, 1679, that the tithe should be paid only to "each of the parish priests within the extent of his parish where he is established in perpetuity in the stead of the removable priest who previously administered it." Laval accepted the King's edict and cooperated with the Governor in drawing up the plan of the parishes to be established. It was, however, not till 1722 that the whole colony was divided into recognized ecclesiastical parishes, each with its fixed curé in charge.[13] At that date 72 parishes were constituted and nearly 100 curés were assigned to serve them. "With a servant," writes Colby, "to paddle him and carry his portable chapel, the curé of the seventeenth century spent his life in making a perpetual series of rounds, through rivers, lakes and forests, at all weathers, in all seasons."[14] For the parish of the curé was the Frontier. Thus two missionaries ministered to the whole southern shore of the St. Lawrence, each caring for some sixty families scattered here and there.

For the spiritual needs of New France and the Indian tribes there laboured the Jesuits since 1632; the Sulpicians since 1656; the Récollets, reintroduced by Talon in 1675 to counterbalance the Jesuits; and the established Church directed by the Bishop. The early missions had been scattered wide over an extended Frontier. Their experiences during the period, 1632-1659, so disastrous even if so glorious, now inclined the Jesuits to build up centres of support for their task of evangelizing the tribes. In harmony with this policy was Laval's plan of Seminary and movable curés. But the striking success of French explorers in extending the Frontier made it necessary to establish missions at still more

13. Ibid., pp. 128-129.
14. C. W. Colby, Canadian Types of the Old Régime.—The Bishop—Laval.

distant centres and for still remoter tribes than during 1632-1659. The two most outstanding efforts to christianize the Indians during the century 1659-1759 were made in connection with the Iroquois and Ottawa missions.

(c) The Iroquois.

The Jesuits regarded the Iroquois as the chief obstacle to all their mission enterprise. The other Indian tribes, from the "North sea" to the "South sea," wrote Lalemant, "stretch out their arms to us, and we ours to them, but on both sides they are too short to unite across such a distance; and when, finally, we are on the point of embracing each other, the Iroquois steps in between and showers blows upon both of us." [15] The success of De Tracy, however, in cowing the Iroquois into submission opened up a door for a Jesuit mission among the Five Nations. Missionaries were sent out in 1667. By the end of the following year missions were established in each of the Five Nations. But, although some notable converts were won to the Christian faith,[16] no great success was achieved. Their general culture was only on the frontier of development, but their superstitions and vices were deep-rooted. To segregate the converts from the annoyances and attacks, to which they were constantly subjected, a palisaded mission was established for them opposite Montreal at St. Francis Xavier, from which they were later removed to Caughnawaga. Both at Caughnawaga and at Quinte Bay mission refuges were maintained to shelter Christian Iroquois. In 1687, however, owing to the rising power of the English, it became necessary to abandon the Iroquois mission. The Frontier of the Five Nations was impregnable.

(d) The Ottawa Mission.

The Tribes beyond Lake Huron—the Chippewas at Sault Ste. Marie, the Beavers, the Crees, the Ottawas and refugee

15 The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, selected and edited by Edna Kenton, p. 302.

16. For example, Catherine Tegakwita, the Lily of the Mohawks. See Kenton, page 294.

Hurons on Lake Superior, the Menomonees, Pottawattamies, Sacs, Foxes, Winnebagoes, Miamis, Illinois and the Sioux near the Mississippi were all included in the Ottawa Mission. In 1660 Father Ménard, passing through Lake Huron and the Sault, came to Keweenaw Bay where he said the first Mass heard on those shores. After enduring the rigours of a severe winter in a shanty of fir boughs he penetrated the region which is now Wisconsin. In August, 1661, he lost his life at a portage,—the first martyr of this Mission. In 1665 Father Claude Alloüez established a mission at La Pointe. Building a little bark chapel he inaugurated that career of itinerant mission service which for three decades took him among the Indian tribes of the Upper Lakes.[17] Later there joined the Ottawa mission Fathers Louis Nicholas, James Marquette, Dablon, Louis André, Druillettes, Albanel. On June 14, 1671, a great council was held at the Sault Ste. Marie by St. Lusson whom Talon had sent to the upper Great Lakes to open the way for the exploration of the Northwest. Of the Jesuits there were present André, Alloüez, Druillettes and Dablon. Nicholas Perrot,[18] the interpreter, also participated, as likewise did Louis Joliet and other fur-traders. A treaty of friendship was formed and "all the countries commonly included under the designation Outaouac," the regions around Lakes Superior and Huron, were taken possession of in the names of Jesus Christ and Louis XIV, King of France. Father Claude Dablon described the impressive ceremony in the Relations of 1671-1672:

> "The Cross was publicly blessed, with all the ceremonies of the Church, by the Superior of these Missions; and then, when it had been raised from the ground for the purpose of planting it, the *Vexilla* was sung. Many Frenchmen there present at the time joined in this hymn, to the

17. The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, selected and edited by Edna Kenton, pp. 314-325.
18. The Wisconsin Historical Society's Collections give the history and description of a silver ostensorium, buried for years, presented by Perrot to the Mission of St. Francis Xavier at the Bay of Puans, 1686. See Winsor, Opus Cit., p. 191.

wonder and delight of the assembled Savages; while the whole company was filled with a common joy at the sight of this glorious standard of JESUS CHRIST, which seemed to have been raised so high only to rule over the hearts of all these poor peoples.

Then the French Escutcheon, fixed to a Cedar pole, was also erected, above the Cross, while the *Exaudiat* was sung, and prayer for his Majesty's Sacred person was offered in that far-away corner of the world. After this Monsieur de saint Lusson, observing all the forms necessary on such occasions, took possession of those regions, while the air resounded with repeated shouts of "Long live the King!" and with the discharge of musketry—to the delight and astonishment of all those peoples, who had never seen anything of the kind."[19]

But though the prospects of the mission were so promising the difficulties incidental to the Frontier confronted the workers. "The nomadic habits of the Indians," writes Thwaites, "rendered instruction difficult. The fathers, with great toil and misery, and subject to daily danger and insult, followed their people about upon long hunting and fishing expeditions; and even when the bands had returned to the squalid villages, life there was almost as comfortless as upon the trail. Among the donnés and the Jesuit coadjutor brothers were skillful workers in metal, who repaired the guns and utensils of the natives, and taught them how best to obtain and reduce the ore from lead and copper deposits. We have evidence that the copper region of Lake Superior was at times resorted to by the lay followers and their Indian attendants, to obtain material for crucifixes and for the medals which the missionaries gave to converts; and in the lead mines centering about where are now Dubuque, Iowa, and Galena, Illinois, the missionary attendants and Indians obtained lead for barter with French fur-traders."[20]

19. The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, selected and edited by Edna Kenton, pp. 326-332.
20. R. G. Thwaites, Introduction to Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, quoted by Edna Kenton, p. xlv.

When hostilities broke out between the Sioux and the Hurons and Ottawas, Father Marquette established for the latter at Point St. Ignace a new mission, destined to become one of the largest and most successful of the whole Ottawa Mission. It was from this mission that Marquette joined with the fur-trader, Louis Joliet, in the famous journey that led them to the exploration of the Mississippi River.[21]

The most important missions of the Ottawa Mission were La Pointe, Green Bay, St. Ignace (later Mackinac), Sault Ste. Marie, St. Joseph's and Kaskaskia.

On one occasion governmental authority sought to replace the Jesuits in the Ottawa Mission by the Récollets. The effort failed. But it was during this attempt that Father Hennepin visited the country with La Salle.

During the half century that preceded the overthrow of French power in America, the Foxes waged intermittent war with the French. This so hampered the Jesuits in their work in the Ottawa Mission that there were few results from their labours.

(e) Rivalries and Contentions.

(1) Bishop and Governor.

To govern a Frontier was a novel task for France. She first tried the experiment of ruling it by Fur Companies. This attempt proved abortive because the interests of Company and Colony clashed, particularly in the matter of encouraging immigration. In the Council of Quebec, 1647, the Superior of the Jesuits was given a seat beside the Governor until a regular Bishop was appointed. The Governor at that time was appointed by the Company of New France and was tractable in the hands of the Superior, so that the church was the real ruler of New France. Irreligion was sternly repressed. "Blasphemy, drunkenness, and absence from Mass," writes Eastman, "cost the delinquents the stocks

21. The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, selected and edited by Edna Kenton, pp. 333-366.

or the wooden horse." [22] In fact, the government of the country fell so heavily on the missionaries that in 1656 they asked to be relieved of this responsibility in order to devote themselves exclusively to the evangelization of the Indian tribes. In 1659, as we have seen, the control of church policy passed from the Jesuits to the Bishop. Laval at once took charge with a firm hand. The harmony between ecclesiastical and civil authorities was interrupted. In the *Journal des Jésuites* under date of September 7, 1659 occurs the following entry:

> "There was at this time a sharp dispute respecting the position in church of the seats of Mgr. the Bishop and M. the Governor. M. D'Ailleboust intervened, and it was agreed that the seat of Mgr. the Bishop should be within the altar rails, and that of M. the Governor outside the rails in the body of the church." [23]

Another entry of the time also refers to this rivalry for place:

> "No one was invited to the refectory for dinner. The principal reason for this was, that to invite the Bishop without the Governor, or the other way about, would cause jealousy, and neither will yield the other precedence."

Laval, however, was strong enough to secure the recall of the first three Governors with whom he was associated,—D'Argenson, D'Avaugour and De Mésy. The Bishop, in fact, was able to vanquish successive Governors till he met his match in Frontenac. In the Sovereign Council of Quebec, established in 1663, the civil and judicial authority was divided equally between the Governor and the Bishop. But in addition to possessing these great powers the Bishop was supreme within his own spiritual sphere. With so large an authority committed to the ecclesiastical authority it was, perhaps, not unnatural, in the absence of precedents under the Frontier conditions that obtained, that there should be

22. Mack Eastman, Church and State in Early Canada, 17.
23. Quoted by C. W. Colby, Canadian Types of the Old Régime, p. 280.

constant bickerings between Bishop and Governor about precedence. As Parkman succinctly stated the matter under contention,—"Whether the Bishop or the Governor should sit in the higher seat at table thus became a political question, for it defined to the popular understanding the position of Church and State in their relations to Government." The variance between Bishop and Governor over precedence at church, at festivals and at public assemblies occasioned such scandalous disagreements both between themselves and their subordinate officials that the King took cognizance of the dispute in the Ordinance of 1668. This provided that in all ceremonies, inside or outside of the church, the Governor should come first, the officers of justice second, and the church wardens third, and that military officers could claim no rank whatsoever in religious ceremonies.[24]

The Ordinance of 1668, however, by no means settled all disputes between Church and State. It was Frontenac who most strenuously resisted the ecclesiastical authorities. He quarreled with the Bishop and the Seminary priests. He attacked both Jesuits and Sulpicians alike, but constantly favoured the Récollets. His enemies declared he was a Jansenist. When the Jesuits opposed the building of forts and trading posts on the Frontier of the Upper Lakes he countered with the charge that they "refused to civilize the Indians, because they wished to keep them in perpetual wardship."[25] In a letter written to Colbert in 1677 Frontenac revealed his attitude towards the dominant ecclesiastical powers,—the Bishop and the Jesuits:

> "Nearly all the disorders existing in New France have their origin in the ambition of the ecclesiastics, who wish to add to their spiritual authority an absolute power over temporal matters." [26]

24. Mack Eastman, Church and State in Early Canada, p 92.
25. George Stewart, Frontenac and His Times, in Justin Winsor, Narrative and Critical History of America, IV, VII, 323.
26. W. D. Le Sueur, Count Frontenac, 113.

Frontenac accused them of seeking to amass wealth, of having obtained concessions of large tracts of the best and most valuable lands in the country and of driving an active and most profitable trade.[27] He charged the clergy with abusing the confessional and intermeddling with private family affairs "all, as they say, for the greater glory of God." Both parties to the quarrel sent recriminatory letters to France, for the King wrote sharply to the Count,—"The Bishop, the ecclesiastics, the Jesuit Fathers, the Supreme Council, and, in a word, everybody, complain of you." Colbert, however, favoured Frontenac in his reply and urged him to hold his own as best he could. For the great French minister recognized that New France was a Frontier and time was needed to establish more settled relations. Already, some years before, Colbert had written Governor de Courcelles that he looked forward to the time when, with an increase of population, things would get into better shape, and the secular power assume its just preponderance.[28]

(2) Fire-Water.

The question, however, that most seriously divided the leaders in Church and State in this period was not new. The issue was the gift of the Frontier, and had perplexed the missionaries from their first contact with the natives. This was the matter of the liquor traffic with the Indians.

Fire-water was, perhaps, the greatest of the evils which the Europeans had introduced among the natives, and it early became an invariable, the trader claimed an indispensable, factor in the fur-trade. Brandy proved the undoing of the Indians and counteracted all the good that the missionaries achieved. Under the circumstances it was inevitable that contention should arise between trader and missionary. In fact, throughout the French régime the question of the

27. For the charge against the Jesuits of trading at an earlier date see Mack Eastman, Church and State in Early Canada, 82; J. J. Wynne, The Jesuit Martyrs of North America, p.p. 133-136; Mack Eastman, Church and State in Early Canada, p. 147.

28. W. D. Le Sueur, Count Frontenac, 115.

trade in brandy with the Indians divided those to whom religion was of first importance from those who subordinated everything to commerce. Over this issue missionary, bishop and curé were ranged against Governor, Intendant, colonist, explorer and coureur-de-bois. An effort was made further to complicate the issue by introducing considerations of patriotism and orthodoxy. Fur-trader and coureur-de-bois reminded the missionaries that the Dutch and English colonies also bordered on the Frontier. Was it less desirable for the Indians to get brandy and Catholicism from the French than to run the risk of receiving heresy and rum from the Protestant English and Calvinist Dutch? And was the danger less when these heretics not seldom offered for furs four times as much as did the French?

The traffic in brandy was carried on by fur companies and by coureurs-de-bois. The latter were the free-lances of the Frontier who escaped to the wilderness from the troublesome restrictions of the paternal French administration. Their numbers so increased that in their untamed freedom they constituted a problem at once social, economic and religious. Their departure to the wilderness robbed New France of much of the benefit of its immigration, so that both Laval and Frontenac were opposed to inhabitants becoming coureurs-de-bois. In 1673 the King published a decree to cope with this alarming tendency. This forbade Frenchmen, under penalty of death, to remain more than twenty-four hours in the woods without permission from the Governor.[29] But coureurs-de-bois continued to range the wilderness and to engage in the brandy trade. Though Laval might threaten excommunication La Salle favoured leaving the traffic open. He spoke for the coureurs-de-bois,—it was for laymen, not ecclesiastics to decide what was good or bad in relation to commerce.

As early as 1634 Father Le Jeune reported that the

29. A. Leblond De Brumath, Bishop Laval, 159.

Indians had grown so fond of European drinks that to procure them they were willing to sell themselves.[30] Down to 1659 the Jesuits could count on the support of the civil governor to curb a trade which ruined their mission efforts. On his arrival Bishop Laval succeeded to the leadership of the movement to root out the traffic in brandy. He promptly called an Assembly of his clergy to pronounce whether this commerce was a sin. In accordance with its finding he published against the traders a decree of ex-communication, and reserved to himself alone the right to absolve all who were so ex-communicated. This decree and reservation became matters of acute debate both in Canada and in France, and ultimately were referred by the King to the Sorbonne. Nor did Laval content himself with ecclesiastical penalties. He persuaded Governor D'Avaugour to order the execution of Daniel Will and La Violette and the whipping of still another trader for having supplied Indians with brandy.

In spite of the efforts of the ecclesiastical party the evil grew apace. The Jesuit Relations and allied documents are full of the havoc which drink inflicted upon the Indians. M. de Latour wrote:

> "It would be very difficult to realize to what an excess these barbarians are carried by drunkenness. There is no species of madness, of crime or inhumanity to which they do not descend. The savage, for a glass of brandy, will give even his clothes, his cabin, his wife, his children; a squaw when made drunk—and this is often done purposely —will abandon herself to the first comer. They will tear each other to pieces. If one enters a cabin whose inmates have just drunk brandy, one will behold with astonishment and horror the father cutting the throat of his son, the son threatening his father; the husband and wife, the best

30. Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, selected and edited by Edna Kenton, p. 63.

of friends, inflicting murderous blows upon each other, biting each other, tearing out each other's eyes, noses and ears; they are no longer recognizable, they are madmen; there is perhaps in the world no more vivid picture of hell."[31]

A missionary wrote from Gaspé that liquor had entirely ruined Christianity among the natives:

> "I do not wish to describe the miseries that these disorders have caused the infant church. My ink is not black enough to paint them in their true colours; it would need a dragon's gall to set down here the bitterness we have experienced from it." [32]

The testimony of M. de la Chesnaie, given at a slightly later date, corroborates that of the missionaries:

> "I tell you, in all conscience, Monsieur, that one cannot better represent hell than by the view of Indians and squaws intoxicated." [33]

Laval was conscious that he was waging a battle to save, even against their will, the children of the Frontier from their fatal passion for fire-water. He insisted that in a new Church and among uncivilized peoples liquors ought not to be tolerated because they hampered the propagation of the Faith and corrupted the good morals of new converts.[34] By 1673 the Algonquin missions had been undermined by alcohol,[35] and by 1691 utterly destroyed. Dollier de Casson wrote:

> "I have been twenty-six years in this country, and I have seen our numerous and flourishing Algonquin missions all destroyed by drunkenness." [36]

Claude Chauchetière wrote that liquor and drunkenness made a hell of all the Iroquois villages and made life therein

31. A. Leblond De Brumath, Bishop Laval, pp. 36-37; 113; Mack Eastman, Church and State in Early Canada, pp. 73, 77.
32. Mack Eastman, Church and State in Early Canada, p. 77.
33. Ibid., p. 275.
34. Ibid., p. 75.
35. Ibid., p. 181.
36. A. Leblond De Brumath, Bishop Laval, p. 175.

a continual suffering.[37] Eastman describes how the Mohawks when drunk "threw firebrands at the heads of the Jesuits, burned their papers, forced their chapel and threatened their lives. Often for three or four days the missionaries got neither food nor sleep, but they resolved not to quit their posts until death. One could 'make an angel of a barbarian' if intoxicating drinks were kept from him, whereas brandy 'changed Christians into apostates'." [38]

The other view of the liquor traffic was represented by Colbert and Talon. Colbert believed that the Indians would respond to the religion and civilization of France if they were only treated as Frenchmen. This involved the privilege and the right to indulge in fire-water. In his eyes brandy was no less an instrument of civilization than an article of commerce. In February, 1668, Colbert, in his instructions to the Intendant of New France, thus commented on the liquor trade with the Indians:

> "The commerce in wine and brandies with the natives . . . . . has been a subject of perpetual contestation between the Bishop of Petraea and the Jesuits, and the principal inhabitants and those who traffic in that country. The bishop and the Jesuits have claimed that these drinks intoxicate the Indians; that they cannot partake of them with moderation; that inebriety makes them lazy in hunting, and gives them every sort of bad habit, both as regards religion, and as regards the State. The principal inhabitants and the traders, on the contrary, claim that the desire to have liquors, which are bartered dear, obliged the natives to hunt with more diligence." [39]

And ten years later Colbert wrote to Duchesneau:

> "The Count de Frontenac is of the opinion that the trade with the savages in drinks, called in that country intoxicating, does not cause the great and terrible evils

37. Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, selected and edited by Edna Kenton, p. 296.
38. Mack Eastman, Church and State in Early Canada, p. 123.
39. Mack Eastman, Church and State in Early Canada, p. 126.

to which Mgr. de Québec takes exception, and even that it is necessary for commerce; and I see that you are of an opinion contrary to this. In this matter, before taking sides with the bishop, you should enquire very exactly as to the number of murders, assassinations, cases of arson, and other excesses caused by brandy . . . . . and send me the proof of this. If these deeds had been continual, His Majesty would have issued a most severe and vigorous prohibition to all his subjects against engaging in this traffic. But, in the absence of this proof, and seeing, moreover, the contrary in the evidence and reports of those that have been longest in this country, it is not just, and the general policy of a state opposes in this the feelings of a bishop who, to prevent the abuses that a small number of private individuals may make of a thing good in itself, wishes to abolish trade in an article which greatly serves to attract commerce, and the savages themselves, to the orthodox Christians." [40]

The regulation of the liquor trade proved a thorny problem for the government. To repress the coureurs-de-bois, punishments, involving even the extreme penalty of death, were prescribed.[41] The Governor, however, allowed himself the discretion of issuing to those whom he regarded as responsible a limited number of permits to trade on the Frontier. To this system the Bishop objected because the traders carried liquor to the Indians. The dispute was referred to the King. Louis XIV first placed the punishment of the coureurs-de-bois under the Intendant, then prohibited the liquor traffic entirely, and finally referred the whole question of the liquor trade to the Archbishop of Paris and Father La Chaise in France and to an Assembly of the principal inhabitants of Canada, including the administrators and magistrates. The Assembly overwhelmingly opposed the suppression of the traffic and condemned the action of the

40. A. Leblond De Brumath, Bishop Laval, 170-171.
41. W. D. Le Sueur, Count Frontenac, 89.

Bishop in excommunicating those who sold liquor to the Indians.[42] On the report of the French ecclesiastics the King issued an ordinance forbidding Frenchmen to carry brandy to the *bourgades* of Indians remote from French habitations under penalties of a fine of 100 livres for the first offence, 300 livres for the second, and corporal punishment for the third.[43] With this Assembly and the King's consultation of his ecclesiastical advisers in Paris, the brandy question reached its climax in the first administration of Frontenac. It is impossible here to follow in all detail this controversy which was so peculiarly the gift of the Frontier. The trade, however, continued to work its deadly havoc among the hapless Indians. In August, 1688, Denonville foresaw from this traffic nothing less than the ruin of the country. Brandy had reduced to thirty, in a period of twenty years, the 2,000 Iroquois living in French settlements. It broke down even hardy *coureurs-de-bois* before they reached forty years. The bodies of the dead Indians were found in the water, in the woods, and on the river banks, with barrels of brandy beside them,—according to an anonymous Jesuit journal of 1693.[44] On August 30, 1702, Father Carheil wrote from Michillimackinac to the Governor imploring the King to save the missions and to support the establishment of religion:

> "There is no other means of doing so than to abolish completely the two Infamous sorts of Commerce which have brought the missions to the brink of destruction, and which will not long delay in destroying these if they be not abolished as soon as possible by his orders, and be prevented from ever being restored. The first is the Commerce in brandy; the second is the Commerce of the savage women with the French."[45]

Mack Eastman has made, perhaps, the most careful

42. Ibid., 121-122
43. Mack Eastman, Church and State in Early Canada, 198.
44. Ibid., 274-275.
45. The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, selected and edited by Edna Kenton, p. 397.

study from original sources of this problem of the Frontier which wrought such havoc and so long divided the Church and State. His conclusions deserve to be stated with some fullness:—"From the standpoint of the aborigines the brandy trade was an unmitigated curse. The attitude of the Church and its supporters has been approved by subsequent experience, and endorsed by the more humane governments of civilized countries."

"The immediate effects upon the native races were utterly demoralizing, while indirectly it rendered them more susceptible to consumption and other diseases."

"The immediate profits from the fur trade were greater when brandy was used as an article of barter, inasmuch as it rendered possible a scandalous exploitation of the Indian."

"On the other hand, the reflex influence of the traffic upon the traders was baneful in the extreme. Their exorbitant profits were dissipated in debauchery and seldom represented a real increase in the wealth of the colony. Furthermore, brandy was the chief stimulus to the exodus of hundreds of young men from the colony into the wilderness, lured by the hope of extravagant gains and sensual indulgence. This wholesale desertion of the settlements arrested the agricultural development of Canada for many decades."

"On the whole, we may safely say that the Indian liquor traffic was bad even for the French colony; but royal edicts, governors' ordinances, and ecclesiastical excommunications were alike powerless to control it,—the more so because (as the Assembly of 1678 clearly showed) the majority of the inhabitants were convinced that successful repression of the brandy trade in New France would involve the deflection of the fur-trade to New England."[46]

8. Seigniories.

As a Frontier New France was vulnerable particularly along the St. Lawrence, and by way of the Richelieu and

46. Mack Eastman, Church and State in Early Canada, 291-292.

Lake Champlain. We have seen that Talon settled the members of the Carignan-Saliéres Regiment along the Richelieu close to the confluence of the two streams. There the officers were granted seigniories. The purpose of the Quebec authorities was to protect the Frontier. This same end was served by the seigniorial system in New France. This seigniorial system, then in vogue in France, was naturally the system established in Canada by Richelieu. It none the less fulfilled the military purpose, for which feudalism was designed, and, under the pioneer conditions of New France, served to protect the Frontier. "A comparatively small body of French colonists," writes Munro, "surrounded on all sides by active enemies, both white and red, unable at any time to rely upon aid from without, and dependent for their very existence upon their own military efficiency, might well have found in a system of feudal organization an institution well adapted to colonial conditions."[47] The seigniorial system, further, sought to attach the immigrants to the soil. But if it aimed to keep settlers from drifting into the wilderness it formed them into a feudal system that served to protect the whole Frontier of Canada. This was all the more important because the habitants scattered themselves on their narrow holdings along a great stretch of the northern shore of the St. Lawrence.[48] Unfortunately the seigniors regarded their seigniories as their own property, to be disposed of or retained as they pleased. When they saw fit they kept back their land from settlement, and were thus condemning New France to remain permanently a Frontier. But the Arrêts of Marly, July 6, 1711, compelled the seignior to concede lands to any one who should apply, on payment of the customary dues.[49] Unfortunately this Arrêt was entirely disregarded, but the fear of its enforcement nearly doubled the area of cleared land within a decade.

47. W. B. Munro, Documents relating to the Seigniorial Tenure in Canada, XIX.
48. Ibid., 64. Note.
49. Ibid., Iv-Ivii, 91-94.

9. The Two Frontiers.

There were two Frontiers in America,—an English, along the Atlantic sea-board; a French, along the interior water ways. The English developed settled communities; the French remained a military, exploring and trading Frontier. The civilization of the northern Frontier remained backward and pioneer. Thus, in Canada, under the French régime there was no printing-press. The country folk were poor. They had few glass windows. Even the farmers were dependent on France for many of the staples of life. The mother country controlled the colony, as a Frontier in tutelage, so strictly that regulations governing manufacturing and trade had to be relaxed to enable each family to weave its own linen and to turn its own wool into coarse cloth.[50]

10. The Church and the Frontier.

This Frontier the Church did not disdain to serve. When Quebec fell into British hands it was the Frontier character of New France that saved the Church intact. The last Bishop of the French régime died two months before the surrender of Montreal. His parting advice to Abbé Briand was: "We must not meddle with temporal affairs. Our sole concern should be spiritual, and then I am persuaded that General Murray will be satisfied."[51] When Briand took charge in 1766 there were in Canada about 70,000 Catholics, 138 priests and 100 parishes. In commenting on the amazing subsequent growth of the Roman Catholic Church, H. A. Scott, declared: "There is no country in the world where religion is freer."[52] The Roman Catholic religion profited by the change of masters in Canada. As we shall see, this was due, not to public sentiment in England towards Roman Catholics, but entirely to the Frontier character of Canada.

50. James Douglas, Old France in the New World, *passim.*
51. Canada and its Provinces, edited by Shortt and Doughty, ii, 441.
52. Ibid., XI, 112.

Chapter VI.

Religious Toleration on the Frontier; The Strategy of Empire

1. The Frontier Passes to Great Britain.

After the fall of Quebec New France passed to the British Crown. Canada was still a Frontier for Europe, but now under the protection of Great Britain rather than of France, and, what was of no less significance, on the frontier of the restive American Colonies. Sismondi, who carefully studied the memoirs of the time, did not find that French writers or statesmen felt at all humiliated over the loss of their colony. Canada was, after all, only a Frontier, inhabited, indeed, by Frenchmen, but by Frenchmen "who multiplied slowly in the woods, who associated with savages; but who furnished no returns to the exchequer, no soldiers to the royal host, no colonial merchandise for home traders."[1] Voltaire, in retirement at Ferney, celebrated the triumph of the British at Quebec, not, indeed, to exult over French humiliation, but as a victory of Liberty over Despotism. He predicted that the loss of Canada to France would issue in the liberation of the New England colonies.[2] On the other hand through her victories Great Britain was destined to face fresh difficulties. She had taken over a new Frontier. She had gained new subjects who differed widely from her own citizens, at home and in the American colonies, in language and customs, in race and religion.

2. The Status of the Roman Catholic Religion.

The status of the Roman Catholic religion in this new Frontier dominion of a most bigoted Protestant King became immediately a grave concern to the Canadian people. Formal regulations were drawn up and treaty obligations entered

1. Quoted by F. X. Garneau, History of Canada, translated by Andrew Bell, 1866, ii, 80.
2. Ibid., ii, 81.

into by the Capitulation of Quebec, 1759, the Capitulation of Montreal, 1760, and the Treaty of Paris, 1763.[3] The Capitulation of Quebec, Article VI., stated:—

> "The free exercise of the Roman religion is granted, likewise safe-guards to all religious persons, as well as to the Bishop, who shall be at liberty to come and exercise, freely and with decency, the functions of his office, whenever he shall think proper, until the possession of Canada shall have been decided between their Britannic and most Christian Majesties."

The Capitulation of Montreal granted the free exercise of religion, continued to priests and missionaries their oversight of parishes, safeguarded to nuns their constitutions and privileges as well as their immunity from billeting soldiers, preserved for communities and priests property rights with full liberty to dispose of such and to retire to France. This Capitulation refused to the French King the right to nominate the Roman Catholic Bishop for Canada and made contingent on the pleasure of the British King the obligation of paying tithes to the priests and the right of the Jesuits and of the priests of St. Sulpice at Montreal to nominate to certain curacies and missions. The privilege of enjoying their Roman Catholic faith was specifically guaranteed in the Treaty of Paris:—

> "His Britannick Majesty, on his side, agrees to grant the liberty of the Catholick religion to the inhabitants of Canada: he will, in consequence, give the most precise and most effective orders, that his new Roman Catholick subjects may profess the worship of their religion according to the rites of the Romish Church, as far as the laws of Great Britain permit."

3. Toleration Granted to the Frontier.

From the beginning, then, of their occupation of Quebec, 70 years before the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829 was

3. Documents relating to the Constitutional History of Canada, 1759-1791, edited by A. Shortt and A. G. Doughty, pp. 3-7, 7-36, 97-122.

passed in Great Britain, the British whole-heartedly guaranteed to the French of Canada the enjoyment of the Roman Catholic religion. Why was this privilege granted on the St. Lawrence and at the same time denied to adherents of the same faith in Ireland? How can we account for religious toleration in the Capitulations of Quebec and Montreal, in the Treaty of Paris and in the Quebec Act, 1774, while penal laws still disgraced the statute books of England? It cannot, of course, be denied that through Burke a larger tolerance was beginning to emerge. But the explanation is to be sought rather in the circumstance, so often vital for religious policy and life in Canada, that the Frontier demands new measures and treatment differing from that accorded to older settlements. "From the days of Charles I onwards," Reginald Coupland has pointed out, "a refuge was allowed in the American colonies for those whom the law refused the free practice of their faith at home, and for Roman Catholics as well as Protestant dissenters."[4] And the Treaty of Utrecht, 1713, granted a group of less than 3,000 Acadians the "free exercise of their religion according to the usage of the Church of Rome, as far as the laws of Great Britain do allow the same."[5] On the St. Lawrence, too, religious toleration was guaranteed. There were in Canada at most, 70,000 French. But they were on the Frontier, remote from London, the seat of government. And no method has ever been devised successfully to coerce the religious life of the Frontier.

That the concession of their own religion to the French was granted so whole-heartedly and so faithfully observed is due largely to Pitt in England and to General Murray and Governor Guy Carleton in Quebec. In the course of the peace negotiations Pitt declared:—

4. Reginald Coupland, The Quebec Act, p. 11.
5. Article XIV.

"As to what concerns the public profession of the Roman Catholic religion in Canada, the new subjects of his Britannic Majesty shall be maintained in that privilege without interruption or molestation."[6]

And in 1762 General Murray wrote:—

"The Canadians are very ignorant and extremely tenacious of their religion. Nothing can contribute as much to make them staunch subjects to his Majesty as the new Government giving them every reason to imagine no alteration is to be attempted in that point."[7]

The British Government was deeply sensible of the strategic position of Canada on the Frontier of the restive American colonies. It was vastly important that the French should become and remain faithful and loyal subjects of his Majesty. So the Frontier claimed for itself, and won, religious toleration. But it was no universal or unrestricted toleration that the Government granted. It was for the Frontier alone and only, to quote the Treaty of Paris, "as far as the laws of Great Britain permit." What restrictions were imposed by this qualifying phrase? The penal laws of Great Britain were directed against the Roman Catholics within the confines of Great Britain. As a Frontier Canada lay beyond their jurisdiction. The penal laws, then, did not apply to Roman Catholics on the St. Lawrence. In the free exercise of spiritual worship and in the usual parochial arrangements these Roman Catholics on the Frontier were accorded favoured treatment as compared with fellow Catholics in Great Britain. But the laws of Great Britain that dealt with the political pretensions and activities of the Roman Church and with the papal exercise of authority were of universal application. They affected every part of the King's dominions.[8] In matters of political jurisdiction the British Crown was supreme, and in this regard the laws of

6. Quoted by Reginald Coupland, The Quebec Act, p. 18.
7. Shortt and Doughty, Constitutional Documents, 1759-1791, p. 71.
8. Reginald Coupland, The Quebec Act, pp. 22-23.

Great Britain permitted no favoured treatment for the French Roman Catholics of Canada.

4. Jury Service.

Till the end of the American Revolution the growth of the Protestant population in Canada was disappointingly slow. It is doubtful whether during the first decade of British rule they numbered more than 200 out of a total population of 70,000. In Great Britain Roman Catholics were disqualified for jury service till 1791. Under the Frontier conditions in Canada it was impossible to enforce such a religious disqualification. Accordingly in 1764, with the consent of his council, Governor Murray promulgated an Ordinance which permitted "all his Majesty's subjects in this colony to be admitted to juries without distinction."[9] The Frontier was removing religious disabilities.

5. The Right to Practise in Courts.

The Frontier achieved for the Roman Catholics a like freedom to practise in the courts. The English new-comers, though few, were clamorous in their demands and loud in their complaints. They protested against Ordinances which they styled "vexatious, oppressive, unconstitutional, injurious to civil liberty and the Protestant cause."[10] They complained that the Governor had "discountenanced the Protestant Religion by almost a total Neglect of Attendance upon the Service of the church," and petitioned for a House of Representatives to be composed of "loyal and well-affected Protestants." The French Canadians presented a counter-petition. They sought permission to conduct family business in accordance with their old customs. It was finally decided to submit to the Law officers of the Crown the matter of the application to Roman Catholics in Canada of the laws of Great Britain. Their opinion was handed down in June. 1765:—

9. Ordinance of Sept. 17, 1764, Shortt and Doughty, Constitutional Documents, 1759-1791, p. 205.
10. Petition of the Quebec Traders to the King, 1764, W. P. M. Kennedy, Documents of the Canadian Constitution, 1759-1915, pp. 41-42.

"That his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects residing in the countries ceded to his Majesty in America by the Definitive Treaty of Paris are not subject in those colonies to the incapacities, disabilities and penalties to which Roman Catholics in this Kingdom are subject by the laws thereof."[11]

As a result an Ordinance was published on July 1, 1766, permitting "his Majesty's Canadian subjects" to practise professionally "in *all or any* of the courts" in the Province of Quebec, and all British subjects without distinction to sit as jurors "in *all* causes, civil and criminal, cognizable by *any* of the courts or judicatures within the said Province."

6. The Appointment of a Bishop

The Frontier had now opened the law court as well as the jury box to Roman Catholics. It had still larger issues to raise. For the appointment of a Bishop had become imperative. The Capitulation of Quebec, 1759, had permitted the Bishop to "exercise freely and with decency the functions of his office" until the possession of Canada was decided. Unfortunately, before the decision was reached, Bishop de Pontbriand died. In the Capitulation of Montreal, 1760, the French asked for the appointment of a Bishop. The English, however, declined the Articles in which this request was proferred. In the Treaty of Paris, 1763, moreover, they restricted the freedom to exercise the Roman Catholic religion by the insertion of the clause, "as far as the laws of Great Britain permit." Now the appointment of a Roman Catholic Bishop was the precise kind of freedom which the laws of Great Britain did not permit. And the instructions to Governor Murray, December 7, 1763, had been specific,—not to "admit of any ecclesiastical jurisdiction by the See of Rome."[12] As we have already seen, the

11. Opinion of Attorney-General Norton and Solicitor-General De Grey, June 10, 1765,—Shortt and Doughty, Constitutional Documents, 1759-1791, p. 236.
12. W. P. M. Kennedy, Documents of the Canadian Constitution, 1759-1915, pp. 31-33.

last Bishop of Quebec had died in 1760. It was soon realized that much more had been involved in granting religious toleration than had at first appeared. For the Roman Catholic religion there must be priests; and, if priests, then bishops to ordain them; and, if bishops, then some sort of connivance at, or recognition of, papal authority, for the bishop could be chosen and consecrated only by papal authority. For a time episcopal functions were discharged by three grand vicars. All knew this arrangement could be only a temporary expedient. Finally the Quebec Chapter nominated M. Briand as candidate for the vacant Bishopric of Quebec. Governor Murray was persuaded that this pressing need of the Frontier Church should, in the public interest, be met. He strongly recommended the British Government to make the concession. "M. Briand, therefore," writes Reginald Coupland, "proceeded to London with Murray's recommendations; and there for fourteen months he waited while successive ministries wrestled with the obvious difficulties of the case. At last the Rockingham Government, probably influenced in some degree by Burke, adopted a characteristic compromise. M. Briand might go to France for his consecration, but secretly: nothing must be said about it before or after—and here, no doubt, ministers were thinking of the storm that would be created in Parliament and in the country if it were known that they were engaged in slipping round the Act of Supremacy. Once consecrated bishop, he must not use the title nor speak of his episcopate. He must be known as 'the Superintendent of the Roman Church in Canada.' Nor, of course, would he exercise any powers, prescribe any rules, make any appointments, without the Governor's consent and approval. For thus only could the royal supremacy be maintained. Accordingly, in March, 1766, the necessary instruments having been obtained from the Pope, M. Briand was privately consecrated at Luresnes, by the Bishop of Blois; and in June he returned

to Quebec. It was an historic moment for the French Canadians. Officially Monseigneur Briand might be known as Superintendent, but not to his flock. 'God has had pity on us,' they cried, 'we have got a bishop.' And they crowded into the cathedral to see him enthroned as of old, a pledge incarnate of the freedom of their faith, of the continuity of their Church, and of British toleration."[13] But the consecration of M. Briand as Bishop was another striking proof that in religious matters in Canada the imperative needs of the Frontier have shaped not only religious, but even political, policy.

7. Governor Murray.

On April 1, 1766, Governor Murray was formally recalled. His dealings with the French Canadians had exhibited an insight and sympathy and a spirit of conciliation which had gone far, to quote his own words, to "gain to my royal master the affections of that brave, hardy people." He did not, of course, perceive that the penal laws against Roman Catholics were destined before long to be removed from the statute books of Great Britain. But he saw clearly that they could not even at this date be successfully applied to the Frontier of Canada.

8. Sir Guy Carleton.

The Frontier was destined to be fortunate in its friends. To General Murray succeeded Sir Guy Carleton, a soldier like his predecessor, but greater still as statesman. He appreciated the needs of the Frontier. From the outset he sought to win the French Canadians. He saw in the Frontier of Canada the key to the North American continent. He wrote to Hillsborough, November 20, 1768:—

> "But should France begin a war in hopes the British colonies will push matters to extremities, and she adopts the project of supporting them in their independent notions, Canada probably will then become the principal scene

13 Reginald Coupland, The Quebec Act, 54-55.

where the fate of America may be determined. Affairs in this situation, Canada, in the hands of France, would no longer present itself as an enemy to the British colonies, but as an ally, a friend, a protector of their independency."[14]

Carleton, then, was resolved to conciliate the French Canadians because Canada itself was strategic in Britain's prolonged rivalry with France. Furthermore, Carleton realized even more keenly than Murray that Quebec was "guarantee for the good behavior of its neighbouring colonies." For Canada was not only in itself a Frontier, it was situated on the frontier of the American colonies.

"His influence on the shaping of the future destinies of Canada," writes Coupland, of Carleton, "was stronger than that of any other man of his time."[15] Carleton gladly inherited Murray's policy of religious toleration. But he soon perceived that he must proceed farther in that direction. Their Civil Law should be restored to the French Canadians, and disabilities removed which shut Roman Catholics out of all share in the civil government. Carleton stated his opinion frankly:—

> "The only way of doing justice and giving satisfaction to the Canadians is to continue the laws of England with respect to criminal matters and to revive the whole body of the French laws that were in use there before the conquest with respect to civil matters."[16]
>
> "As long as the Canadians are deprived of all places of trust and profit, they never can forget they no longer are under the dominion of their natural sovereign."[17]

9. The Quebec Act.

"As long as the Canadians are deprived of all places of and counter representations, the negotiations and discuss-

14. Shortt and Doughty, Constitutional Documents, 1759-1791, p. 326.
15. Reginald Coupland, The Quebec Act, p. 58.
16. Shortt and Doughty, Constitutional Documents, 1759-1791, p. 370.
17. Carleton to Shelburne, Jan. 20, 1768, Shortt and Doughty, Constitutional Documents, 1759-1791, p. 294.

ions which led to the passing of the Quebec Act, 1774. The issue at stake was unambiguous. Was Britain prepared to recognize the claims of a conquered people on the Frontier, to respect their religious outlook and to have regard for their previous laws? Or would she seek to regulate the life of the community on the St. Lawrence according to the wishes of the merest handful of English Protestants there resident, who claimed to represent the people of England? Concessions had, indeed, been granted already, but they had not been guaranteed. As long as these remained subject to withdrawal, the French Canadians were haunted by a sense of insecurity in regard to their permanence. M. Briand, it is true, had been consecrated bishop, but there was still doubt as to the legal status of the Church. The faithful were paying tithes to the curés, but there was no legal obligation for the continuance of these payments. Before the British authorities Carleton warmly espoused the claims of the 100,000 French. Though the English population of 600 strongly protested, the Governor insisted that the needs of the Canadians, and not the prejudices of the people of England, should determine the laws on the St. Lawrence. The Quebec Act, 1774, was a victory for Sir Guy Carleton and for the Frontier.

The Quebec Act gave the French Canadians the security they had sought. Subject only to the King's supremacy it guaranteed to Roman Catholics the free exercise of their religion. It accorded their clergy the right to collect their accustomed dues, but, of course, only from members of their own faith. It made binding the Criminal Law of England, but retained the "Laws of Canada" for property and civil rights. The Act further made provision for the appointment of a Council. The victory of religious toleration was marked by the fact that for membership in this Council no religious test was imposed. "And Lord North stated in the House of Commons, that the Government intended a

minority of the Council to be Roman Catholic French Canadians."[18] Thus in 1774, over half a century before the same treatment was meted out to their co-religionists in Great Britain, religious disabilities in the matter of civil government were removed for Roman Catholics in Canada and phrases offensive to their faith were omitted in the new oath of allegiance. The Frontier, thanks to Sir Guy Carleton, had triumphed in religion and politics. That the victory was a victory for the Frontier rather than an espousal by British statesmen of the general principle of religious toleration, is clearly evident from the debates in the British Parliament in connection with the passing of the Act, and particularly from a speech delivered by Lord North:—

> "Now there is no doubt that the laws of Great Britain do permit the very full and free exercise of any religion, different from that of the Church of England, in any of the colonies."[19]
>
> "The honorable gentleman next demands of us, will you extend into those countries the free exercise of the Romish religion? Upon my word, Sir, I do not see that this Bill extends it further than the ancient limits of Canada; but if it should do so, the country to which it is extended is the habitation of bears and beavers."[20]

At the same time that the British Parliament consolidated the privileges of the Roman Catholic majority in the Frontier of Canada it recognized the existence and claims of the small group of English Protestants within the Roman Catholic community,—a frontier element within the Frontier. Parliament made provision for applying the tithes paid by these Protestants "for the Encouragement of the Protestant Religion, and for the Maintenance and Support of a Protestant Clergy within the said Province."

18. Reginald Coupland, The Quebec Act, p. 92.
19. Debates in the British Parliament on the Quebec Act, 1774,—W. P. M. Kennedy, Documents of the Canadian Constitution, 1759-1915, p. 87.
20. Debates in the British Parliament on the Quebec Act, 1774,—W. P. M. Kennedy, Documents of the Canadian Constitution, 1759-1915, p. 86.

The Quebec Act was not favourably regarded in England. Chatham inveighed against the Bill. Popular feeling against it ran high in the streets of London. Deputations headed by the Lord Mayor presented petitions to the King. But George III, bigoted Protestant though he was, was stubborn in his approval:—

> "It is founded on the clearest principles of justice and humanity, and will, I doubt not, have the best effect in quieting the minds and promoting the happiness of my Canadian subjects."[21]

The Roman Catholic religion had been guaranteed toleration in Quebec. It had not, however, been established as the State religion. This was made abundantly clear in the Instructions issued to Carleton in 1775:—

> "No. 20. . . . . always remembering that it is a toleration of the free exercise of the religion of the Church of Rome only, to which they are entitled, but not to the powers and privileges of it, as an Established Church, for that is a preference which belongs only to the Protestant Church of England."[22]

10. The American Revolution.

Two years had scarcely elapsed after the passing of the Quebec Act, when the English colonies of North America were up in arms against the Mother Country. The effects of the liberal policy towards Canada became quickly manifest. The Quebec Act undoubtedly solidified French nationality and gave Canada an abiding racial cleavage. But it none the less kept Canada within the Empire and yielded a happy and contented people on the Frontier. It did not, of course, bestow self-government, and it did not transform French Canadians into English Protestants. But for self-rule the people on the St. Lawrence were not yet pre-

21. Annual Register, 1774, p. 78, quoted by Reginald Coupland, The Quebec Act, p. 104.
22. W. P. M. Kennedy, Documents of the Canadian Constitution, 1759-1915, p 154.

pared. And the justification of the Quebec Act lay in the very fact that it did not impose a policy of coercive religious assimilation, no less futile than dangerous. Far more statesmanlike it was, especially under the exigencies of the Frontier, to deal justly and generously with the religious life of the French Canadian people.

The granting of religious toleration for Roman Catholics in Quebec anticipated similar policies in Great Britain itself by more than half a century. But though more easily granted on the Frontier than at home, it was nevertheless demanded in England by no less ardent a champion than Burke:—

> "There is but one healing, Catholic principle of toleration which ought to find favour in this House. It is wanted not only in our colonies but here. The thirsty earth of our own country is gasping and gaping and crying out for that healing shower from heaven . . . . we ought to suffer all classes, without distinction, to enjoy equally the right of worshipping God according to the light He has been pleased to give them."[23]

The Frontier was showing the way and raising the issues. But solutions ever come much more slowly in the great Centres than on the Frontier. So religious toleration for Roman Catholics came more readily in Quebec than in England.

But Canada was also Frontier to the American Colonies. Among them the granting of the free exercise of their religion to the French Roman Catholics of Quebec received a severe condemnation. "It must have caused," they declared, "a Jubilee in Hell."[24] The Congress of the insurrectionary Colonies denounced the Quebec Act as "unjust, unconstitutional, very dangerous, and subversive of American rights."[25] At the outbreak of the Revolution valiant efforts were made

23. Quoted by Reginald Coupland, The Quebec Act, p. 115.
24. Max Farrand, The Development of the United States, p. 38.
25. F. X. Garneau, History of Canada, translated by Andrew Bell, 1866, I. XXXII.

to seduce the French on the St. Lawrence from their allegiance. Garneau declares that the Colonies "wasted a considerable part of their resources in vain attempts to wrench from the Mother Country that Canada which they had helped to conquer for her special glorification."[26] Carleton was deeply disappointed that the French Canadians could not be prevailed upon actively to fight for the British Government. But the Quebec Act undoubtedly was the factor that restrained them from taking the field against Great Britain. Bishop Briand loyally and gratefully threw his influence on the side of King George III:—

> "The remarkable goodness and gentleness with which we have been governed by his very gracious Majesty, King George the Third, since the fortune of war subjected us to his rule; the recent favours with which he has loaded us, in restoring to us the use of our laws and the free exercise of our religion, and in letting us participate in all the privileges and advantages of British subjects, would, no doubt, be enough to excite your gratitude and zeal in support of the interests of the British Crown. But motives even more urgent must speak to your heart at the present moment. Your oaths, your religion lay upon you the unavoidable duty of defending your country and your King, with all the strength you possess."[27]

Though Garneau would insist that "the Canadians promptly ranged themselves under the banner of their new Protectress,"[28] it would appear true that the French actually remained neutral in the struggle. But their neutrality, however, did enable Carleton to save Canada.[29] In a contest so crucial the hostility of the French would have lost

26. Ibid.
27. Mandement of May 22, 1775, quoted by Reginald Coupland, The Quebec Act, p. 170.
28. F. X. Garneau, History of Canada, translated by Andrew Bell, 1866, I, xxxii.
29. The crisis was the siege of Quebec during the winter of 1775-6. About the same number of habitants supported Carleton and Montgomery.

Canada to the Empire. Canada was saved to Great Britain by a policy of religious toleration for the Frontier.

11. France enters upon the Struggle.

In 1778 France came into the war on the side of the American Colonies. The French Admiral D'Estaing issued a manifesto which was published throughout Quebec on the door of every parish church. There could be no more anxious time for those in authority. The appeal of the Mother land, of the ancient régime, of racial kinship, of a common language, of a like social system, the certainty, under the rule of France, of active support for, rather than a toleration of, the Roman Catholic faith, constituted a powerful and seductive appeal. But again Bishop Briand issued a *mandement* to his clergy in which, to quote Haldimand, he gave "proof of his good disposition." The Quebec Act now saved Canada from France as it had formerly saved Canada from the American Colonies. Little wonder that Governor Haldimand resisted all attempts to tamper with its provisions. He wrote to Germain:—

> "It requires but little penetration to discover that, had the system of government solicited by the old subjects[30] been adopted in Canada, this Colony would in 1775 have become one of the United States of America. . . . . On the other hand the Quebec Act alone has prevented, or can in any degree prevent the emissaries of France and the rebellious Colonies from succeeding in their efforts to withdraw the Canadian clergy and noblesse from their allegiance to the Crown of Great Britain. For this reason, amongst many others, this is not the time for innovations, and it cannot be sufficiently inculcated on the part of Government that the Quebec Act is a sacred charter, granted by the King in Parliament to the Cana-

30. That is, the English Protestants in the Colony.

dians as a security for their religion, laws and property."[31]

12. The Constitutional Act, 1791.

The Constitutional Act of 1791 superseded the constitutional provisions of the Quebec Act. That was inevitable with the increase in the English population. For the same American Revolution which had sought to detach Quebec from the Empire had sent the United Empire Loyalists into the Canadian wilderness to build there a new Frontier. This new Frontier yielded its own problems for State and for Church. The Act of 1791 aimed to satisfy the political aspirations of this new Frontier. But in doing so it reaffirmed the policy of religious toleration followed by the Quebec Act in 1774. The same policy was again followed in 1828, when the British Parliament enacted that Canadians of French origin should never be disturbed in the enjoyment of their laws, their religion or those privileges which had already been assured to them.[32]

13. Quebec a Permanent Frontier.

The Quebec Act, by solidifying French nationality and guaranteeing the free exercise of the Roman Catholic religion, has made of the Province of Quebec a permanent Frontier. The French Canadians are ever conscious, and never more so than now, that they stand on the frontiers of Ontario, the United States and France. By a policy of isolation their clergy would guard them against the Protestantism of Ontario, the advanced views of the United States and the secularism of the modern French Republic.

The Frontier won religious toleration for the French Canadians in the Quebec Act, but the Quebec Act condemned the French Canadian Roman Catholics to be forever a Frontier of isolation in the heart of Canada and in the midst of the Nations.

31. Haldimand to Germain, October 25, 1780. Shortt and Doughty, Constitutional Documents, 1759-1791, p. 720.
32. F. X. Garneau, History of Canada, translated by Andrew Bell, 1866, I, xxxiii.

Chapter VII.

The Frontier Takes Over Responsibility for Its Own Religious Life, 1791-1867

1. Religious Equality, Self-Government and Self-Support.

We have seen that the boon of religious toleration in Canada resulted from the problem of dealing on the Frontier of the Empire with the Roman Catholic Church. The free Churches of the Frontiers of the Provinces had now no less valuable a contribution to make, viz., religious equality in Canada. The years 1791-1867 secured for Canada that trinity of structural principles upon which the Dominion is founded,—in politics, responsible government; in education, equal privileges for all without respect to creed or class; in religion, like civil rights for all the churches and the attainment for the great religious bodies of independence of foreign control. The Constitutional Act of 1791 gave Canada the status of a Crown Colony, a mere Frontier of the Empire. In the fight against oligarchic rule Canada entered upon that political struggle in the interests of the Frontier that achieved responsible self-rule in 1848-1849 and the full recognition of political equality of status only in 1926. But inextricably bound up with the early stages of that struggle for responsible government was the fight for equality of civil rights for all Churches and for the removal of religious restrictions upon educational advantages. The Churches severed the bonds, other than of fellowship and sentiment and of gratitude for occasional voluntary gifts, that linked their life with that of other lands. In the same period as witnessed the attainment of political self-rule the people of the Frontier took over the guidance of their own religious development. The Churches of Canada struck their roots into

Canadian soil, achieving self-government and self-support. They learned to find their strength in the self-sacrifice and devotion of their own members. The people of the Frontier attained for their religious life a twofold emancipation, independence of control from abroad, and, at home, the removal of civil inequalities for their faith.

2. Immigration.

Subsequent to the Quebec Act of 1774 the English-speaking population of Canada and Nova Scotia increased by successive waves of immigration. First came the United Empire Loyalists, laying the foundations of New Brunswick, the Eastern Townships and Upper Canada. Subsequent to the Act of 1791 settlers came from the United States, but were precluded by the Napoleonic Wars from coming from the British Isles. In the following years they came from the British Isles but were prevented by the War of 1812 and the suspicions engendered thereby from coming from the United States. Ex-service men were stationed in military settlements at strategic points. Then followed a period during which migration was fostered by government effort and land companies and, as well, in both the British Isles and the United States, by individual promoters. Finally individuals, single families and small groups, of their own initiative, came to Canada to cut new homes out of the wilderness. The coming of all these settlers profoundly changed the social and political character of British America. They did not, however, come in sufficient numbers to transform Canada into a compact settlement. They only served to extend the area and the needs of the Frontier.

3. Settlement.

It is impossible to detail here the growth of pioneer settlements.[1] In Upper Canada the Loyalists were centred

1. For a careful study of Pioneer Settlements in Ontario, see the discussion of the same by A. C. Casselman in Shortt and Doughty, Canada and its Provinces, Vol. XVII. See also John Carroll, Case and his Cotemporaries, I, 108-109.

chiefly along the St. Lawrence, in the region of the Bay of Quinté, and near Niagara.[2] But new communities of settlers came to be scattered over the whole stretch from the Loyalist and military settlements in the East to the Huron Tract, Talbot Settlement, the Thames and Sandwich on the West. In some instances the settlements were of religious groups, e.g. Mennonites, Tunkers, Quakers. In other cases religious affiliations were taken into account in the allottment of lands to neighbours. Thus Casselman writes concerning the assignment of lands to the first battalion of the Royal Greens: "Those of the same religion asked to be placed together, and Haldimand gave his consent, provided the regulations as to settlement were observed. It was arranged that the Scottish Roman Catholics were to be placed in township number 1, Charlottenburgh; then, in order, the Scottish Presbyterians, the German Presbyterians, the German Lutherans, and the Anglicans." [3] In all cases the journeys involved in reaching the settlements were arduous and the hardships of pioneering in the back townships appalling. The very difficulties were a challenge to the Church.

4. The Church on the Frontier.

That the church in all denominations did respond nobly to the challenge of Frontier conditions in Canada and on the Atlantic will be clearly manifest to those who will read the records of the achievements of early missionaries. The following excerpts relate to the difficulties on the Frontier confronted by church workers.

(a) Roman Catholic.

Father Alexander, later Bishop, Macdonell thus described conditions in Canada when he arrived in 1803:

> "There were but two Catholic clergymen in the whole of Upper Canada. One of these soon deserted his post and the other resided in the township of Sandwich, in

2. W. Stewart Wallace, The United Empire Loyalists, 97.
3. Shortt and Doughty, Canada and its Provinces, XVII, 25.

the Western district, and never went beyond the limits of his Mission; so that upon entering my pastoral duties I had the whole of the Province besides in charge, and without any assistance for the space of ten years. During that period I had to travel over the country, from Lake Superior to the Province line of Lower Canada, to the discharge of my pastoral functions, carrying the sacred vestments sometimes on horseback, sometimes on my back, and sometimes in Indian birch canoes, living with savages, without any other shelter and comfort, but what their fires and their fare and the branches of the trees afforded, crossing the great lakes and rivers and even descending the rapids of the St. Lawrence in their dangerous and wretched crafts. Nor were the hardships and privations I endured, among the new settlers and immigrants, less than what I had to encounter among the savages themselves, in their miserable shanties, exposed on all sides to the weather and destitute of every comfort.[4]

(b) Church of England.

Anglican missionaries found the places of worship ill-suited to their stately service:

"Here, he officiates in the room of a private house; there, he occupies a barn; in another place, he is fortunate enough to get a school-house; while it sometimes happens that he has to perform his duties in the open air. Then, the congregations are untaught and irreverent, sitting where they ought to stand, and standing where they ought to sit; and not unfrequently leaving the *whole* service to be read by the clergyman alone."[5]

Darling has pictured an English emigrant of the Canadian backwoods as thus describing religious conditions:

"Deary me! but it did my heart good to hear 't church sarvice again. It's better than four years sin' I heard

4. Shortt and Doughty, Canada and its Provinces, XI, 50-51.
5. William Stewart Darling, Sketches of Canadian Life, Lay and Ecclesiastical, 1849, p. 165.

it before, and this morning it seemed as if I was back again in 't ould country. There's no pray'rs, sir, like 't church pray'rs, at least to my thinking."

"Sunday is 't great day for shooting when pigeons come past, and sometimes it is forgotten altogether. I past James Holden's clearing once and found him hard at work chopping, and when I asked why he worked on Sunday, he held out that 't was Saturday,—he'd fairly lost count, and I'd hard work to show him he was wrong.

"There war' Job Stephens, to be sure, who'd been a great Methody at hoam; he tried to hold some prayer meetin's, and he did pray, for sartin, if making a noise is praying, but some folks thought that his prayers and his life didn't agree, and so they came tae nowt.

"I never thought, when I was in England, that a church and parson war' half sae much use as they are."[6]

(c) Methodist.

In 1803, Nathan Bangs, who later gained prominence in the Canada Methodist Church, and in the United States, found little religious growth in the neighbourhood of what is now Toronto:

"On Yonge St., which was a settlement extending northward from Little York, in a direct line for about thirty miles, there were no societies, but all the field was new and uncultivated, with the exception of some Quaker neighborhoods."[7]

And the biographer further writes:

"Such is the character of frontier communities. Moral restraints are feeble among them; conventional restraints are few; the freedom of their simple, wilderness life characterizes all their habits; they have their own code of decorum, and sometimes of law itself. They are frank, hospitable, but violent in prejudice and passion; fond of dispu-

6. Ibid.
7. Quoted in John Carroll, Case and his Cotemporaries, i, 93.

tation, of excitement, and of hearty, if not reckless, amusements. The Primitive Methodist preachers knew well how to accommodate themselves to the habits, and also to the fare of such people, and hence their extraordinary success along the whole American frontier. Their simple and familiar methods of worship in cabins and barns, or under trees, suited the rude settlers. Their meetings were without the order and ceremonious formality of older communities. They were often scenes of free debate, of interpellations and interlocutions; a hearer at the doorpost or window responding to, or questioning, or defying the preacher, who 'held forth' from a chair, a bench, or a barrel, at the other end of the building. This popular freedom was not without its advantages; it authorized equal freedom on the part of the preacher; it allowed great plainness of speech and directness of appeal. The early memoranda before me afford not a few glimpses of this primitive life of the frontier—crowded congregations in log huts or barns—some of the hearers seated, some standing, some filling the unglazed casements, some thronging the overhanging trees—startling interjections thrown into the sermon by eccentric listeners—violent polemics between the preacher and head-strong sectarists, the whole assembly sometimes involved in earnest debate, some for, some against him, and ending in general confusion. A lively Methodist hymn was usually the best means of restoring order in such cases." [8]

In his early History of Methodism Rev. George F. Playter has described the work of Presiding Elder Ryan:—

"Ryan's home was probably in the Niagara Circuit, where he had labored the last two years, and where he owned a farm. How little of his society would his family enjoy! He might begin his journeys with Niagara Circuit, Long Point, and then off to Detroit. Returning, he

8. Ibid., i, 94.

would probably attend to the Ancaster and Yonge Street Circuits. Returning, the same week he must be in Smith's Creek Circuit, the next week in the Bay of Quinté, the third week in Augusta, the fourth week in the St. Lawrence, and the fifth week in Cornwall Circuit. In this Circuit his quarterly work might end. Now he turns homeward; and a journey from Cornwall to Niagara, on horseback, with the crooked, hilly, unmended, swampy roads of those times was no light undertaking. The distance was about 350 miles, and would require an industrious travel of five or six days. He would have a week to rest. Then he must again be on the road to Detroit. From Detroit to Cornwall, allowing for the bending of the road in the Niagara frontier, was probably not much short of 700 miles. Allowing for his returns to his home, Ryan probably travelled about 1,000 miles each quarter in the year, or 4,000 miles a year. And what was the worldly gain? For so much bodily labour, to say nothing of the mental, the Presiding Elder was allowed $80 for himself, $60 for his wife, and what provisions he would need for his family. His entire allowance might have been £60 a year." [9]

(d) Presbyterian.

Rev. Thomas McCulloch found Nova Scotia in the fall of 1803 "an almost unbroken wilderness." [10] The inhabitants were few and widely scattered; and the means of religious instruction very insufficient. A third of a century later he could still write,—"We are drowned in debt, and have little to spare. On this account the clergy are wretchedly supported, and apt to be depressed." [11]

Of James M'Gregor, an anti-burgher from Scotland labouring in the Presbytery of Pictou, the following account is given,—"During the course of his ministry there were many things which were sources of discomfort. At first

9. Quoted in John Carroll, Case and his Cotemporaries, i, 226-227.
10. William McCulloch, Life of Thomas McCulloch, D.D., 194.
11. Ibid, 151.

he could scarcely find a lodging-place in Pictou, and for some time had to conduct worship in the open air. He adopted a plan of preaching in different places, which rendered it necessary for him to be absent from his home for six or eight weeks at a time, and deprived him of leisure for study. He received serious annoyance from a set of profligates, whose enmity became so outrageous that they threatened to shoot him and burn the house in which he lodged. He was dependent for his support on the voluntary contributions of his people. These were neither large nor punctually paid, and they were paid chiefly in produce. For a year and a half he received not a shilling in cash. He had to preach both in Gaelic and English, and this increased his labours and awakened jealousies. But no difficulties deterred him from his Master's work." [12]

Nor were conditions among the Presbyterians different in Upper Canada. In 1793 Rev. Jabez Collver settled in the county of Norfolk. He organized a Presbyterian congregation, but there was as yet no Presbytery with which it could be conveniently connected. During the twenty-five years of his ministry "he was all alone in a vast wilderness, and it is doubtful whether, during those many years, he saw another Presbyterian clergyman."[13] In 1801 Rev. D. W. Eastman came to the Niagara District to begin a ministry which lasted for nearly sixty years. H. S. McCollum wrote concerning him:

> "There was scarcely a mile square on the Peninsula which he had not traversed many times, riding his faithful horse through forest and marsh and tangled bush, swimming swollen streams, and breasting storms and tempests, once at least chased by barking and hungry wolves to his very door, and his progress often heralded by chorussed voice of beast and bird of prey. In season and out of season he had preached the Gospel by the way-

12. R. Gordon Balfour, Presbyterianism in the Colonies, 14-15.
13. W. Gregg, History of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 183.

side, and wherever and whenever two or three could be gathered together to hear him; and in almost every cabin there were books and tracts, which he had left for the spiritual education and comfort of his widely scattered parishioners." [14]

Rev. Wm. Bell reached Perth June 24, 1817. The congregation rented for him a house which consisted of log walls, a roof and a floor of split basswood logs, over a pool of stagnant water. The flooring was evidently not too closely laid, for one day one of the children fell through and was with difficulty saved from drowning. No furniture could be procured, but the doctor gave him two boards so that he was able to make a table.

5. Constitutional Act of 1791 and Governor's Instructions.

Before we enquire how the churches of Canada became self-governing bodies, independent of control from abroad, and by what process religious equality was achieved in Canada we must indicate the content of two documents of fundamental importance for the religious history of Canada, viz.: Article xxxvi of the Constitutional Act of 1791.[15] and the Instructions to Governors as relating to ecclesiastical matters.[16] The former authorized the Governor "to make, from and out of the Lands of the Crown within such Provinces, such Allotment and Appropriation of Lands, for the Support and Maintenance of a Protestant Clergy within the same, as have at any time been granted by or under the Authority of His Majesty." To this endowed Protestant Church were to be given, when any land grants were made to corporations or individuals "such lands . . . . . as shall be, as nearly as the same can be estimated . . . . . equal in value to the seventh part of the land so granted." The

14. Quoted in W. Gregg, History of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 187.
15. Shortt and Doughty, Constitutional Documents, 1759-1791, p. 763.
16. Doughty and McArthur, Documents relating to Constitutional History of Canada, 1791-1818, pp. 24, 43.

Governor was given the right, on the advice of the Executive Council, of erecting within every township or parish, already or subsequently formed, "parsonages or rectories, according to the Establishment of the Church of England," and to endow them with such part of the clergy reserves as the Council saw fit. The supremacy of the Crown over the Church was asserted in the provision which authorized the Governor to present incumbents to the various parsonages who should enjoy all "Rights, Profits, and Emoluments thereunto belonging or granted, as fully and amply, and in the same Manner, and on the same Terms and Conditions, and liable to the Performance of the same Duties, as the Incumbent of a Parsonage or Rectory in England." The Instructions to Governors were continued over a term of years for successive representatives. The Clause relating to Toleration and Establishment is herewith given:—

> "Whereas the Establishment of proper Regulations in Matters of Ecclesiastical Concern is an object of very great Importance, it will be your indispensable Duty to take Care that no arrangements in regard thereto be made, but such as may give full Satisfaction to Our New Subjects in every Point in which they have a right to any Indulgence on that Head, always remembering that it is a Toleration of the free Exercise of the Religion of the Church of Rome only, to which they are entitled, but not to the Powers and Privileges of it as an established Church, that being a Preference which belongs only to the Protestant Church of England."

6. Independence of Foreign Jurisdiction.

We shall now enquire how during this period the great Churches of Canada became Canadian Churches, independent of foreign jurisdiction.

(a) Roman Catholic.

In a previous chapter we have noted that the British authorities permitted Mgr. Briand to assume the title not of

"Bishop of Quebec," but of "Superintendent of the Roman Church of Canada." With the assent of Rome, Bishop Briand had consented to "depend on no foreign power and keep no intercourse with France and Rome." His authority he must consider as proceeding "from his dignity and his See." The Governors were instructed to forbid, under very severe penalties, "all appeals to, or correspondence with, any foreign ecclesiastical jurisdiction." Even simple correspondence with France Bishop Briand had to carry on under cover.

Under Laval the Roman Catholic Church in Canada was transformed from a Frontier of Rouen into a direct dependency of Rome, with submission, on the part of the Bishop, to the King of France. A second stage in the evolution of the Roman Catholic Church in Canada had now occurred with the transfer of allegiance from France to Great Britain. It is the great merit of Bishop Briand that he instantly recognized that this change was permanent, and that he successfully inaugurated in the Roman Catholic Church the policy that has succeeded in extracting from the change of allegiance distinct advantage to his Church. In his funeral oration over Bishop Briand, Abbé Plessis, who was himself destined, as one of his greatest successors, to make the most important contribution to this evolution, stated:

> "Monseigneur Briand had hardly seen the British arms placed over the gates of our city before he perceived that God had transferred to England the dominion of the country; that with the change of possessors our duties had changed their directions; that the ties that heretofore bound us to France were broken; that our capitulations and the Treaty of Cession in 1763 were so many engagements which bound us to Great Britain and to submission to her Sovereign. He perceived what none had comprehended, that religion itself might gain by the change of government." [17]

17. Shortt and Doughty, Canada and its Provinces, XI, 18.

But this allegiance to Great Britain, although linked with a religious toleration to Roman Catholics which was not yet enjoyed by their fellow religionists in England itself, hampered the spiritual work of the church as long as it interrupted communication with Rome or interfered with appointments in the church in Canada. The interests of the Frontier demanded and secured three changes,—the removal of British interference, the establishment of unrestricted spiritual connection with Rome, and the granting of the right to develop the organization of the church in the interests of the widening Frontier. Under Bishop Plessis was reached the successful consummation of the struggle to secure these privileges.

The first victory was won when Bishop Briand obtained from Rome the power to appoint, with the consent of England, a coadjutor having the right of future succession and to consecrate him without the usual assistance of two bishops.[18] The Church of England in Canada was violently opposed to a Roman Bishop styling himself "Catholic Bishop" or "Bishop of Quebec." When in 1805 Bishop Denaut petitioned the King to be officially recognized as Bishop of Quebec the opposition was powerful enough to secure the denial of the request. But as previously the American Revolution proved an occasion for Bishop Briand to manifest his loyalty to the British Crown, so now the War of 1812 yielded an opportunity to Bishop Plessis. His loyal and effective pastoral letters greatly assisted the British cause. As a reward, in 1813, on the suggestion of the Earl of Bathurst, he was granted a yearly allowance of £1,000 as "Catholic Bishop of Quebec." This was construed as official recognition and with that title he was appointed to the Legislative Council.[19] But the Frontier was clamouring for recruits to serve in its pioneer communities. Under Bishop Plessis the work of the diocese was vastly increased by the opening up

18. Shortt and Doughty, Canada and its Provinces, XI, 23.
19. Doughty and McArthur, Constitutional History of Canada, 1791-1818, p. 556.

of missions on the Prairie at the Red River, and by the development of Roman Catholic settlements in Upper Canada and the Maritime Provinces. In 1816 the Bishop secured the consent of the British Government for the creation of new bishoprics in Canada, but on the express condition that they should be subordinate to Quebec, and Frontier, or missionary, bishops *in partibus infidelium.* H. A. Scott has succinctly sketched the rapid development of dioceses for the expanding Frontier:—"Father Alexander Macdonell was consecrated in Quebec, on December 31, 1820, as Bishop of Resaina, for Upper Canada; Father Jean Jacques Lartigue, on January 21, 1821, as Bishop of Telmessus, for Montreal; Father Angus MacEacharn, on June 17, 1821, as Bishop of Rosea, for New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and the Magdalen Islands; Father Norbert Provencher on May 12, 1822, in Three Rivers as Bishop of Juliopolis, for the North West. This was a decisive step towards a perfect hierarchy. Never afterwards did England place any obstacle in the way of its completion." [20]

By the early twenties the Roman Catholic Church in Canada had reached its majority. It had become an independent Canadian Church capable of organizing its own life, freed now from London as once before from Rouen, owing only, as all other branches of that great Church, spiritual obedience to Rome. The widening Frontier and its expanding needs had made of the Diocese of Quebec a Canadian Roman Catholic Church.

(b) Church of England.

During this period the Church of England in what is now the Dominion of Canada began its career as one Diocese, Nova Scotia, a Frontier of the Established Church of the Mother Country. Before Confederation was achieved the Church of England had cut the leading strings that bound it to the Mother church by ties other than those of sentiment

20. Shortt and Doughty, Canada and its Provinces, XI, 46-47.

and affiliation, there had been accomplished, through the secularization of the Clergy Reserves, complete separation of Church and State; to meet the spiritual needs of an expanding Frontier a chain of independent dioceses had been established from the Atlantic to the Pacific; and the Church had, through Diocesan Synods, become organized as self-governing and self-supporting.

The first legislation affecting Anglicans within what is now Canada was an act passed in Nova Scotia in 1758 by the Assembly of that Province making the Church of England the established religion.[21] It granted toleration to dissenters other than Roman Catholics, in this respect falling short of the generous policy of the Quebec Act of 1774. The privilege of performing marriages by license was, also, by another law confined to the clergy of the Church of England. In 1773 an act was passed to tax parishioners of St. Paul's, Halifax, to meet the needs of the Church. A statute also established St. Paul's, P.E.I., in 1781, and in 1790 dissenters were exempted from taxes for the support of the established Church. One of the acts of the first session of the New Brunswick Legislature bore the title: "An Act for preserving the Church of England as by law established in this province, and for securing liberty of conscience in matters of religion."[22] In spite of its title this Act did not establish the Church of England in New Brunswick. It secured religious toleration, and it vested in the Governor the right of presentation to the parishes of the clergy of the Church of England. This right the Governor continued to possess till 1869.

In what is now Quebec and Ontario the first clergy of the Church of England were naval and military chaplains. Of these, two established parishes, at Quebec and Montreal. Canada, as it then was, formed a Frontier of the Diocese of Nova Scotia. But in 1793 a separate Anglican Bishop of

21. Shortt and Doughty, Canada and its Provinces, XI, 202.
22. Shortt and Doughty, Canada and its Provinces, XIII, 166.

Quebec was appointed. The Church of England, however, was never "established" in either Upper or Lower Canada. But for years it did receive preferred treatment, as compared with other religious bodies, as a result of interpretations put upon the Constitutional Act of 1791 and upon the Governor's Instructions, and because Canada was by the ruling oligarchy regarded as a Frontier of a land where the Church of England enjoyed the privilege of establishment.

The Clergy Reserves became in the early decades of the nineteenth Century a bone of contention in Canada. Their exemption from taxation, it was claimed, increased the rates for settlers, and the existence of blocks of unoccupied land obstructed settlement and prevented the building of good roads. In 1819 a congregation of the Church of Scotland at Niagara petitioned the Governor for £100 from the proceeds of the Clergy Reserves towards the support of a minister. The question was thus raised whether the Church of Scotland, as also being an Established Church in the Mother Country, ought to be permitted to share in the proceeds from the sale of lands set aside for "the support and maintenance of a Protestant clergy." This problem the Governor promptly referred to England. The immediate effect of his action was to arouse the Anglicans in Canada. On their behalf Bishop Mountain at once made application to the Legislatures of both Upper and Lower Canada for their creation as a corporation in both Provinces. The request was granted in 1820. They were also, by statute, invested with the responsibility of management, but not with the right of ownership, of the Clergy Reserves. This creation of a corporation was a distinct step towards constituting the Church of England as an independent Canadian Church. In the years that followed, this movement towards independence, self-government and self-support was marked by definite stages. The following steps may be noted as not the least important: the passing by the Legislature of the Church

Temporalities Act, 1841, in order to give legal validity to the corporate action of the Church; the establishment of the Upper Canada Travelling Missionary Fund, which was the "first organized attempt at self-help on the part of the Church of England in Canada"[23]; the formation in 1837 of a diocesan church society in Nova Scotia; the creation of new Dioceses to provide for the spiritual needs of a growing Frontier,—Toronto, 1839; New Brunswick, 1845; Rupert's Land, 1849; Montreal, 1850; Huron, 1857; New Westminster, 1859; Ontario, 1861. In 1851 the Bishops met in Quebec and drew up a formal statement of principles. "This declaration," writes Tucker, "expressed the desirability that the bishops, clergy and laity in each diocese should meet together in synod, both diocesan and provincial; that church membership requires conformity to the rules and ordinances of the Church and the obligation of all its members to contribute to its support; the acceptance of the Holy Scriptures as the rule of faith and the Book of Common Prayer as the best help to the understanding of the Scriptures; the necessity of keeping accurate registers of baptisms, marriages and burials; the importance of teaching religion in the public schools; and the necessity of special training-schools for the ministry."[24]

The Bishops' declaration of 1851 and the secularization of the Clergy Reserves, 1854, hastened the organization of Diocesan and Provincial Synods, that the Church which had to carry the burden of self-support might be self-governing. Diocesan Synods were established,—for Upper Canada in 1857; for Lower Canada in 1859; for Rupert's Land in 1867; and for Nova Scotia under Bishop Binney. A Provincial Synod was also created and held its first session in Montreal in 1861.

The secularization of the Clergy Reserves completely separated Church and State. The Church of England had

23. Shortt and Doughty, Canada and its Provinces, XI, 216.
24. Ibid., XI, 237.

now to lean upon the self-sacrifice of its constituency for its support. In all legislative matters the Government had previously acted for the Church. Now the Bishops acted with and through Diocesan and Provincial Synods. The Church of England had become independent and self-governing, also self-supporting except for a number of missions chiefly in the west. In that its Dioceses served every part of the Frontier it was Canadian. It was not yet one Dominion Church. It remained for it, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, to become "one in legislative action, as it has been one from the beginning in the unity of spirit and the bond of peace." This happy event was achieved, as a result of Confederation, in the formation of a General Synod.

(c) Methodist.

For the origin of the Roman Catholic Church in Canada we look to France, of the Anglican Church to England, of the Presbyterian Church to Scotland and Ireland. Canadian Methodism owed its parentage to England and the United States. It is one of the ironies of the religious history of Canada that base and groundless calumnies were directed against the devotion and loyalty of Methodists. Methodism in Upper Canada was born largely out of the United Empire Loyalist movement, which in its capacity for self-sacrifice, compares not unfavourably with the Family Compact who repeated against the Methodists the slander of lack of patriotism.

Methodism was first introduced in the Maritime Provinces by Yorkshire colonists. Augmented later by the Loyalists there resulted the conference of eastern British North America. Methodism was planted in Upper Canada by English and Americans. Missionaries from the United States promoted its rapid and inexpensive spread through the country. These missionaries were accustomed to the privations of a new country, and could adapt themselves to its frontier exigencies. At the same time the efficient oversight of the work and a plan of watchful and judicious pion-

eering were secured by the American system of Presiding Elders. Further, the granting of ordination to local preachers enabled the church to furnish the ordinances to many localities which otherwise would have been but partially served, if not wholly destitute. This ordination, however, became in the long run a source of serious embarrassment. And the foreign jurisdiction proved a disability, especially during the months preceding the War of 1812, during the hostilities, and as long as the memory of the struggle rankled in the Canadian mind.[25] The connection with the American Churches provoked years of unhappy bickering with British Wesleyan missionaries, and, by setting up "rival altars," divided Methodism at a time when it was achieving unusual success in Canada.

The United Empire Loyalist Methodists came to Canada to retain their British allegiance. But in leaving the United States they did not feel called upon to sever their church affiliations with that country. Great honour is due the missionaries who volunteered for service in Canada and gladly endured the privations of the undeveloped Frontier. The foundations of the work were laid by William Losee, Darius Dunham, James Coleman, Joseph Sawyer, Hezekiah C. Wooster, Samuel Coate, Joseph Jewell, Elijah Woolsey, Nathan Bangs and others.[26] By 1805 the Methodists had seven circuits in the Upper Canada District,—Ottawa, Oswegotchie, Long Point, Niagara, Smith's Creek, Yonge Street and Bay of Quinté; by 1806 they had 2,375 members and about a dozen meeting-houses, several of them only of logs, in the two Provinces. Till 1810 the two Canada Districts were connected with the New York Conference. In that year, however, the Upper Canada District became associated with the Genesee Conference newly organized by Bishops Asbury and McKendree for the very purpose of affording relief to Can-

25. John Carroll, Case and his Cotemporaries, ii, 344.
26. John Carroll, Case and his Cotemporaries, i, 229. The first Methodist preacher was a local preacher named Tuffey, a commissary of the 44th regiment who in 1780 came to Quebec with his regiment; see George F. Playter, the History of Methodism in Canada, p. 9.

adian delegates who had to travel on horseback to Conference over impassable roads. During the two and one-half years of the War of 1812 the Methodist Church of the Canadas was left to its own resources under the direction of Rev. Henry Ryan as Presiding Elder. Of the Canadian workers, seven, possibly eight, were British subjects, two were Irish, and four Canadian. One of these, Thomas Harmon, greatly distinguished himself at Queenston Heights where he "prayed like a saint and fought like a devil." An interesting wartime episode took place on the boundary line between Vermont and Lower Canada. Here directly on the boundary line smugglers had erected a large building to facilitate the passing across the line of contraband goods. The Methodists conceived the idea of holding a Quarterly Meeting in this building "to accommodate brethren in Canada, who by the war had been cut off from their accustomed public means of grace." A large company assembled in the building, the Americans on the south side of the line and the Canadians on the north, and yet in a compact congregation. The Presiding Elder was Rev. Samuel Draper. "He and the Circuit preachers were present, and such a season of refreshing had not often been enjoyed. No one crossed the line, yet they passed very closely on both sides, and never was there a heartier hand-shaking than on that occasion,—nominal belligerents, but real, heartfelt friends and brethren."[27] The disastrous results of the war were seen in the falling off of the Methodist membership in Canada by one-half. On the conclusion of peace, however, a number of zealous young American missionaries came to Canada's help.

Now arose between American Methodism and British Wesleyanism an unseemly strife to control the churches in Canada. As early as 1809 the Wesleyans of England, "with a feeling that the work was one and the same," contributed to the erection of a chapel in Montreal.[28] When this church

27. John Carroll, Case and his Cotemporaries, i, 279.
28. Ibid., i, 177.

was left vacant in 1814 owing to the war service of the minister, its members, having failed with the Superintendent of the Nova Scotia District, applied for a minister to the Wesleyan Missionary Secretaries in London. These sent out Rev. John Bass Strong in 1814 and Rev. Richard Williams in 1815. As was inevitable a clash over jurisdiction ensued with the American Conference. The sending of British Wesleyan missionaries within the bounds occupied by the American Methodists was a violation of the principle insisted upon by Wesley in his letter to Asbury,—"The Methodists are one people all the world over." The Wesleyan Missionary Committee wrote,—"Let us not contend—we have one Master, even Christ." [29] The American Conference pointed out in reply that it was the "desire of the great majority of the people in Upper and Lower Canada to be supplied, as heretofore, with preachers from the United States." [30] The Conference, therefore, could not "consistently with our duty to the Societies of our charge in the Canadas, give up any part of them, or any of our chapels in those provinces, to the superintendency of the British connexion." [31] Bickering and collisions ensued. And during the next four years the British Wesleyans increased their stations in both Provinces and made inroads on the flocks of the American Conference. It was unfortunate that an agreement was not reached. "Had the British Conference possessed the ground," wrote Carroll in 1869, "the preachers employed would have been more comfortable, and perhaps a more respectable class as a whole would have been raised up from the first, and a better financial system would have been inaugurated; but had the American preachers been left to themselves, the work would have proceeded faster, but perhaps with some negligence in some of the minor details of Methodist rule and order."[32] By the

29. Ibid., ii, 32.
30. Ibid., ii,34.
31. Ibid., ii, 34; also George F. Playter, The History of Methodism in Canada, 149.
32. John Carroll, Case and his Cotemporaries, ii, 35.

end of 1817 the relative strength in members of the two rival Methodist bodies was,—British Wesleyans, 166; American Methodists, 3,301. By 1820 the figures were,—British Wesleyans, 744; Methodist Episcopal, 5,991.

In 1820 petitions and memorials were sent from Upper Canada to the American Conference protesting against the interference of the British preachers. At the same time some Circuits petitioned for a separate Annual Conference for Canada.[33] Conference replied that it was "inexpedient for the present, because, among other reasons, it might prevent that interchange of preachers, so very desirable, and so essential to your prosperity."[34] The bishops, however, were empowered "by and with the advice and consent of the Genesee Conference, if they judge it expedient previous to the sitting of the next General Conference, to establish an annual Conference in Canada." [35] At the same time a note was inserted in the Discipline that aimed to remove the political objections to the government of the Methodist church by a foreign Conference,—

> "As far as it respects civil affairs, we believe it the duty of Christians, and especially all Christian ministers, to be subject to the supreme authority of the country where they may reside, and to use all laudable means to enjoin obedience to the powers that be; and therefore it is expected that all our preachers and people who may be under the British, or any other, government will behave themselves as peaceable and orderly subjects." [36]

In the meantime a working compromise was effected between the American Methodists and the British Wesleyans. The field was divided in 1820. The American Conference relinquished Lower Canada. The British Wesleyans withdrew their missionaries from Upper Canada,—Kingston excepted. Kingston was made an exception because it was a

33. Ibid., ii, 286.
34. Ibid., ii, 287.
35. George F. Playter, the History of Methodism in Canada, 240.
36. John Carroll, Case and his Cotemporaries, ii, 286-287.

military post. It was thought that a British preacher was more likely to benefit British officers and soldiers.[37]

The last time that Canadian Methodists went out of Canada to perform the duties of their Annual Conference was to the town of Westmoreland, Oneida County, New York. The Session continued from July 15 to July 23, 1823. "And when they turned their horses' heads towards their provincial home, it was to go back no more." [38] Canadian Methodists were now to have a Conference of their own for the cultivation of the Canadian field. But though they were to be organized as a separate Conference they still remained as yet under American jurisdiction.

The first Canadian Conference met in Hallowell on August 25, 1824. "It was," says a manuscript of the period, "the Conference at which the first Missionary Society was formed, and a regular Constitution adopted,—a Society which, under Divine direction, and by the gracious aid of His Holy Spirit, was to play such an honorable part in the evangelization of the country, the christianization of the aboriginal Indian tribes of our Provincial forest, and the extension of a pure gospel and gospel privileges to the remotest bounds of our new settlements." [39] This Missionary Society was Auxiliary to the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and its constitution in accordance with the design of the parent Society.[40] Two Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church were present and assisted in quelling an incipient rebellion led by Rev. Henry Ryan. Ryan agreed to await the General Conference of 1828 before taking further steps for an independent Church in Canada.

In May, 1827, the American General Conference decided to withdraw its jurisdiction over Canadian Methodists and to allow the Canadian Conference to organize itself as an

37. Ibid., ii, 343.
38. Ibid., ii, 439.
39. Ibid., ii, 492.
40. Ibid., ii, 495.

independent Church.[40a] At the same time it requested the British Conference to observe the arrangement entered into during 1820 in the matter of sending Wesleyan missionaries into Upper Canada. As a token of good will it authorized the Canadian Missionary Society to appropriate annually $700 for the support of Indian Missions in Upper Canada.[41]

In 1828 the Canadian Methodist Conference became an independent Church.[41a] Conference met on October 2, 1928, in Switzer's Chapel, Earnestown. Rev. Elijah Hedding, one of the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States, presided. This constituted the last visitation from the episcopate of the American Church. Conference unanimously adopted the following Report,—

> "Whereas, the jurisdiction of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America has heretofore extended over the ministers and members in connection with the said church in the Province of Upper Canada, by mutual agreement, and by the consent of our brethren in this Province;—and, whereas it has been and is the general wish of the ministers and members of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Upper Canada, to be organized into a separate and independent body, in friendly relations with the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States; and, whereas the General Conference has been pleased to comply with our wish in this respect, and has authorized any one or more of the General Superintendents of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in the United States, with the assistance of any two or more elders, to ordain a General Superintendent for the said church in Upper Canada:—
>
> Resolved 1st,—That it is expedient and necessary, and that the Canada Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church do now organize itself into an independent Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada.

40a. George F. Playter, The History of Methodism in Canada, 315.
41. John Carroll, Case and his Cotemporaries, iii, 213-214.
41a. Thomas Webster, History of the M. E. Church in Canada, 219.

Resolved 2nd,—That we adopt the present discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church as the basis of our constitution and discipline, except such alterations as may appear necessary from our local circumstances."[42]

The General Conference had imposed upon Conference one restriction. It must not do away with Episcopacy. It had, however, provided:—"Nevertheless, upon the joint recommendation of three-fourths of the Annual Conference, or Conferences, then the majority of three-fourths of the General Conference shall suffice to do away with that restriction." [43] Several declined the appointment as Bishop when elected. The independent Canadian Church, as a matter of fact, never became Episcopal except in name. Rev. William Case was made "President of the Conference *pro tempore*" with the duties of a Bishop, except that of conferring ordination, and the superintendency of the Indian Missions.

As early as 1815-16 the Canadian Methodists had suffered slightly from a secession on the part of the Reformed Methodists.[44] The year 1829 witnessed another secession, led by Rev. Henry Ryan. In the Conference of 1824 he had contended for the "removal of the Canada Church from under the jurisdiction of the American General Conference." [45] After the setting up of an independent Canadian Church tact and consideration on the parts of influential members of Conference might have deterred him from setting up a rival organization. But such a healing policy was not pursued. The "Ryanites" organized their group under the name of the Canadian Wesleyan Conference.[46] In 1841 they became affiliated with the Methodist New Connexion Church of England.[47]

We have seen that, on the occasion of their withdrawal of jurisdiction over the Canadian Church, the American

42. John Carroll, Case and his Cotemporaries, iii, 214.
43. Ibid., iii, 215.
44. Ibid., ii, 48-49.
45. George F. Playter, the history of Methodism in Canada, 234, 297.
46. John Carroll, Case and his Cotemporaries, iii, 395.
47. Shortt and Doughty, Canada and its Provinces, XI, 308.

General Conference requested the British Wesleyans to respect the arrangement made in 1820 to confine their missionaries to Lower Canada. The Wesleyans, however, regarded the events of 1828 as terminating the agreement. They immediately assumed aggressive action and despatched their missionaries to Upper Canada.[47a] The presence of "rival altars" again menaced the peace and concord that had been secured in 1820. In 1832, however, Rev. Robert Alder, a Secretary of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, visited Upper Canada. An interview was arranged between him and the Missionary Board of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada. Both parties evinced a desire for closer union and cooperation between churches "who held the same doctrines and maintained essentially the same discipline." The Missionary Board, thereupon, memorialized Conference to consider the organic union of the two sections of Methodism in Upper Canada.

In their memorable Conference at Hallowell in 1832 the Methodist Episcopal Church favorably considered the proposal, and in 1833 adopted the Articles of Union as modified by the British Conference.[48] It was agreed to accept the discipline and economy of the Wesleyan Methodists in England, to adopt the usages of the English Conference in the matter of the probation, examination, and admission of candidates for the ministry, to relinquish Episcopacy, to accept from year to year a representative of the English Conference to preside over the Canadian Conference and to regard the Indian Missions as belonging to the English Wesleyan Missionary Society. On behalf of the British Conference Rev. George Marsden presided over the first Conference of what was called for one year the Wesleyan Methodist Church in British North America, later the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada.[49]

47a. Thomas Webster, History of the M. E. Church in Canada, 250.
48. John Carroll, Case and his Cotemporaries, iii, 405-408.
49. Ibid., iii, 409,445.

Canadian Methodism, which in 1828 had ceased to be a Frontier of American Methodism, had now accepted the relation of Frontier to British Wesleyanism. It soon became evident that this was no merely formal relationship. In 1834 the first Conference of the Union met in Kingston. The President appointed by the British Conference, Rev. Edmund Grindrod, having been detained by a long sea-passage and a sickness, failed to arrive in time to open the Conference. The Conference, however, did not, as empowered by the fifth Article of Union, elect one of its own members to preside. Rev. Robert Alder, one of the General Secretaries of the Wesleyan Missionary Society connected with the British Conference, who was present, claimed and was accorded the right to preside in virtue of the representative position he held.[50] During the Conference several local preachers who during the period of its independence had been elected by Conference for ordination, but had not been ordained for want of a bishop, presented themselves for ordination. They relied on the first Article of Union which guaranteed the "rights and privileges of the Canadian preachers." This clause had been interpreted by the Canada Conference to include "the standing and privileges of our present itinerant and local preachers." The Rev. Edmund Grindrod, who arrived before the day of ordination and assumed the Presidency, declared that he could not conscientiously ordain secular men, who were not "laying aside the study of the world." But, according to the Discipline, ordination rested with the President. A proposal was then made that, to avoid violating the President's scruples, the ex-President, Rev. William Case, be authorized to ordain them. The cause of the President's scruples then became manifest. At the same time the Frontier relation of the Canadian to the British Church became evident. The representatives of the British Conference declared that if any ordination of local preachers took place in a Conference affiliated to the parent Conference, this would

50. Ibid., iii, 440.

immediately create a demand for ordination on the part of the vast and influential body of local preachers in Britain and elsewhere.[51] The Frontier yielded. The Rev. William Ryerson moved a Resolution which the Conference accepted, that the ordination of local preachers should cease. But if the Resolution carried, it nevertheless precipitated a secession. Five days after the Wesleyan Conference at Kingston arose, on June 25, 1834, dissatisfied brethren met at Cummer's Meeting-house, nine miles north of Toronto. They claimed to be the legal Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada, from which, they charged, the whole Canada Conference had seceded.[52] This group consisted of three regularly ordained elders, a deacon and several local preachers. From these small beginnings they built up a Connexion which, at the end of one year, numbered no less than 21 preachers on circuits and 1,243 members, and finally proved to be a formidable rival claimant to the property of the church and to the patronage of those who claimed to be the legitimate Methodists of the Province. They became known as the Canadian Methodist Episcopal Church.

This secession broke the unity of the Wesleyans in Upper Canada. We have already noted the existence of a small group of Reformed Methodists and the rise in 1829 of the Ryanites or the Canadian Wesleyan Conference. The recent secession of 1834 left two groups, the main body, or the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada, and the seceders, or the Canadian Methodist Episcopal Church. The growing migration from England to the newer settlements of the Frontier still further emphasized the divided front of Methodism. In 1829 arrived in Canada members of the Primitive Methodist Church of England; in 1831 the Bible Christians; in 1837 members of the Methodist New Connexion of England. These all became significant religious bodies in Canada. Then

51. Ibid., iii, 441.
52. Ibid., iii, 447.

in the late Thirties developed tendencies which still further disrupted the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada.

It is difficult in our narrative to divorce religious and political issues, for they were inextricably intermingled in the Canadian situation. As we shall see, Mackenzie was leading the Radicals against the political oligarchy of the Family Compact. Among the issues Clergy Reserves and the preferred treatment of a self-styled "Established" Church involved all religious bodies. Between the extreme wings stood a moderate group for whom Rev. Egerton Ryerson, a young Wesleyan clergyman, had become leader and spokesman. Ryerson was persuaded that religious equality and liberty were at stake, and on the question of the Clergy Reserves gave Mackenzie generous support. But Ryerson was not a radical in politics. His aim was religious freedom and equal civil rights. But from 1834 he began to withdraw from Mackenzie. The immediate cause was a letter of sympathy sent by the radical Joseph Hume to Mackenzie on the occasion of his expulsion from the Assembly. Hume unabashedly declared that such proceedings must "terminate in independence from the baneful domination of the Mother Country.[52a] The mere suggestion of independence antagonized Ryerson. He prophesied that the Radicals would be led into Rebellion.[53] The Uprising of 1837 fulfilled his prediction. After its occurrence the Wesleyan President addressed an injudicious letter to all Superintendents of Circuits requiring them to institute "an inquiry in all their Societies for any who had compromised their character for loyalty during the late events.[54] Although Ryerson was able in some measure to neutralize its effect the letter was deeply resented by the Wesleyan membership and produced an antagonism between the leading Canadian members of Conference and the authorities representing British Methodism in the Province. About the same time Rev.

52a. Egerton Ryerson, The Story of My Life, 167.
53. John Carroll, Case and his Cotemporaries, IV, 178.
54. Ibid., IV. 178.

Adam Townley published a series of letters in the "Toronto Patriot," a high Tory paper, in the interests of what he claimed to be loyalty and true Wesleyanism, not only condemning the "Guardian" and its Editor for opposing an Established Church, but practically charging his Canadian brethren with disloyalty. At the next Conference Rev. William Ryerson declared that the Wesleyans were "scarred all over in support of British institutions and authority." He ridiculed Townley by calling him an "upstart boy who would be the very first to take fright and run at the very sight of a pop-gun in the hands of a grasshopper." [55] But acrimonious feeling was developing between the representatives of the British Church and the Frontier. A cleavage began which issued before long in the breaking up of the Union.

The immediate responsibility for the Disruption lay with the Clergy Reserves. There was for a short time a hope that they might be sold and the proceeds divided among the religious bodies who should henceforth be entitled to receive no government grant. Though the hope was not realized, yet the prospect of sharing in the division was sufficient to precipitate a quarrel between the Canadian Conference and the English Wesleyan Missionary Society. Under the Articles of Union this Society carried on the Indian work in Canada. The Canadian Missionary Society was auxiliary to the English Society and paid into it all funds it was able to raise. The English Society was in receipt of a grant from the Casual and Territorial Revenue of the Crown, which grant was now likely to terminate if the proposal in regard to the Clergy Reserves carried. The Canadian party resisted the claims of London and pleaded for the Frontier. The issue was Canadian, the Reserves themselves were Canadian, the other participants would be Canadian. Their share should go to the Canadian Conference. It was their intention to devote this to the cause of education in Canada. On this matter Egerton Ryerson addressed letters to the Secretary

55. Ibid., IV 243.

for the Colonies, who, for further elucidation, referred them to the English Wesleyan Missionary Society. This caused an explosion. A Special Committee of this Society adopted a series of "resolutions containing assumptions of prerogative and power, accusations and sentences of condemnation against the author of that letter, and calling upon the Canada Conference to carry them into execution on pain of a dissolution of the Union."[56] Under the difficult circumstances the Canadian Conference behaved with great restraint. It carefully investigated the whole question and appointed two of its members "to proceed to England to explain the whole matter and to do all in their power to maintain the Articles of Union inviolate."[57] In England the Canadian delegates were treated with distrust and discourtesy.[58] The British Conference reaffirmed the condemnatory Resolutions, made a declaration against any interference on the part of the "Christian Guardian" with 'party political reasonings and discussions,' appointed a Special Committee to draw up a statement, in a more detailed manner, of "the points on which full satisfaction will be expected from the Conference of Upper Canada," and made the following challenging pronouncement:—

> "The English Conference could not be identified with any body, however respected, over whose public proceedings it is denied the right and power of exerting an official influence, so as to secure a reasonable and necessary coordinate but efficient direction during the continuance of the Union."[59]

The Canadians replied that they were willing to make the "Christian Guardian" a strictly religious and literary journal. As to the further British demand that the "Christian Guardian" should admit and maintain that it was the

56. Ibid., IV, 299.
57. The Christian Guardian, Sept. 30, 1840.
58. John Carroll, Case and his Cotemporaries, IV, 303.
59. Ibid., IV. 305.

"duty of civil governments to employ their influence and a portion of their resources for the support of the Christian religion," they declared that the Canadians had no intention to oppose that principle nor had they done so, but they could not regard the principle itself, much less the advocacy of it, as any part of Wesleyan Methodism. Regarding the British claim for efficient direction over the public proceedings of the Canadian Conference they pointed out that the Articles of Union already gave the British Conference very great power, but, if they desired further power of direction, they ought to assume the responsibility of supporting the Canadian institutions generally. Finally the delegates suggested that the British Conference in proposing a continuation of the Union, not permanent but only till the succeeding Conference, were exploiting the Frontier and using the "name and influence and advocacy of the Upper Canada brethren, in order to secure the claims of the Committee in London upon the patronage and support of the Government."[60] The Canadian delegates were directed to retire. And the British Conference voted against the continuation of the Union. The Canadian delegates reported to their Conference in the following terms:—

> "The act of the British Conference, under the circumstances, is no dissolution of the Union, but a secession from it, and involves all the consequences of secession to the seceder, and corresponding advantages to the party seceded from. Our Connexion is therefore secure in the legal possession of all the Missions and the appointments of the Missionaries, and the election of a President; we have not to alter a line of our Discipline, though the position of the English Conference is essentially changed."[61]

The Canadian Conference met in Toronto on October 22, 1840. "A pitiful scene it was, but nevertheless exciting. It was like two contending armies appealing to the God of

60. Ibid., IV, 306.
61. Ibid., IV. 307.

battles on the eve of an engagement, which was to decide their quarrel."[62] Conference declared that the decision of the English Conference involved assumptions of power inconsistent with the letter and spirit of the Articles of Union, that the advocacy of the principle of Church Establishments for Canada by the official organ of Conference was "at least, inexpedient," and that the assumption by the Wesleyan Conference in England of the right and power of 'official influence' and 'efficient direction' was "inconsistent with the obligations and responsibilities of this Conference to the Societies and work providentially committed to its pastoral oversight." Some fifteen ministers seceded. In a letter written at the time, Rev. A. Hurlburt, a Canadian Wesleyan declared:—

> "The responsibility of breaking up the Union does not rest with us. We conceded quite sufficient in the formation of the Union. We could go no further without giving up the power of self-government to such an extent that we could be no longer justly responsible for our actions; and, be the consequences what they may, the responsibility of truce-breaking rests somewhere else than with ourselves. We have not broken the Articles of Union. We have done all that we ever agreed to do. The British Conference have given up the Union because we would not do more; because we would not do things we never promised to do."[63]

But, in the words of John Carroll, "under any circumstances, it was a sad disruption."[64] Another writer of the time expressed the view that the intermeddling of the authorities of the British Conference with the local affairs of the province, was most unfortunate and disastrous to the church.[65] The British Conference retained possession of the Indian Missions and made provision for "the organization and watch-care" of the Societies which sympathized with

62. Ibid., IV. 309.
63. Ibid., IV. 318.
64. Ibid., IV. 308.
65. Thomas Webster, The History of the M. E. Church in Canada, 375.

their position. On the other hand, the self-governing and reconstructive power of Canadian Wesleyanism was shown in adjusting itself to the emergency.

By 1846 the folly of division in Frontier communities had manifested itself. As a result of the rivalry between the Methodist bodies and of the havoc wrought by an outbreak of Second Adventism the membership of the Canadian Wesleyans began to decrease, by as many as 803 in 1844-1845, by 1,389 in 1845-1846. When this loss was reported to Conference there could be observed "blank astonishment, fall of countenance and weeping which followed the announcement of a second consecutive decrease." Among other expedients it was determined to effect, if possible, an agreement with the British Conference whose missionaries were their most formidable rivals. The Canadian Conference ever since the Disruption had declared their readiness to enter upon the former arrangement whenever the British Conference saw fit to resume its former relation to the Canadian Conference. It was believed that the Free Church Disruption in Scotland and English Tractarianism had produced a change of views in British Wesleyanism which brought it nearer to the position of the Canadian Conference. The work of the British Evangelical Alliance had drawn Christians in England closer to each other. A delegation was accordingly appointed to proceed to Britain. There was, however, less disposition to re-union on the British than on the Canadian side, till Dr. Alder came out at the end of the Conference year. The British thought that their cause was rising, and that their rivals were declining.

After an anxious year of negotiations the Canadian Conference met on June 3, 1847, in the old Adelaide Street Church, Toronto. The deliberations on Union occupied the principal part of a week. There was opposition, but a compromise offered by the British representative in the matter of stationing proved acceptable. The Union measure carried

by a vote of 88 to 8. Thereupon Rev. William Ryerson conceded the Presidential chair to Rev. Dr. Alder, the appointee of the British Conference.

"Then," writes Carroll whose Memorial is a mine of valuable information on early Methodism, "there followed a season of mutual congratulation and pleasing reminiscences of former days before the unhappy estrangement. Tears of tenderness and gratitude flowed from many eyes, in which the excellent and venerable Case was observably demonstrative. Next succeeded a time of earnest prayer, in which the re-united ranks of gospel-laborers renewedly consecrated themselves to their Divine Master and His work. Thus happily terminated seven years of fratricidal rivalry between those who were essentially one and should have been always organically so. This second union, although not carried in the Canada Conference with the same apparent unanimity as the first one, really proved vastly more harmonious and complete."[66]

The ministerial ranks of the Canadian Conference were greatly strengthened by the consolidation of the two sections of Wesleyan Methodism in Canada West. Then in 1854, with the hearty concurrence of the British Conference, the work of Canada East was amalgamated with that of Canada West. The British Conference granted financial assistance that the incoming brethren might have equal claims on Conference funds.[67]

During the fifties the Methodist bodies in Canada pursued a policy of consolidation. The consolidation of Canada West and Canada East sections of Wesleyanism we have just noted. During this decade, also, were established the Canadian Annual Conference of the Primitive Methodist Church of England, 1854, and the Conference of Bible Christians, 1855 and that of the Canadian New Connexion.[68]

66. John Carroll, Case and his Cotemporaries, V. 3.
67. Ibid, V. 173.
68. Shortt and Doughty, Canada and its Provinces, XI, 309.

At Confederation Methodism in Canada was still divided, and its various *disjecta membra* were, formally, Frontiers of their respective parent bodies in England. But the Canadian Conference had already in 1866 sounded the note of union in the following resolutions:

1. "That this Conference cordially reiterates the expression of its conviction as to the desirableness and importance of a union of all the Methodist bodies in Canada, who believe in the same doctrines, sing the same hymns, have the same form of worship, the same love-feasts, the same prayer and class meetings, and the same general rules of society.

2. "That the Conference reappoint a committee, consisting of an equal number of ministers and laymen, to confer with any similar committee or committees appointed by other Methodist bodies on the subject of union, and report to the next Conference."[69]

But if the links with the British churches were not yet formally dissolved, the parent bodies had long ceased to interfere in an authoritative way with the affairs of the daughter Churches of the Frontier.[70] And with Confederation there came union of the Methodist bodies in Canada and the dissolution of the ties that bound them legally to a jurisdiction across the Seas.

The history of Canadian Methodism in this period has been given with some detail because it is unique in exhibiting the working of two different jurisdictions from abroad,—from the United States and from England. On the other hand, except for sympathetic disruptions following the Scottish Disruption, Canadian Presbyterianism was remarkably self-contained and removed from foreign jurisdiction. It did not, however, stand apart from the stream of life in the Mother Country. Its history to 1868 consists of a series of six con-

69. Alexander Sutherland, The Methodist Church and Missions, 183.
70. Shortt and Doughty, Canada and its Provinces, XI, 310.

solidations which paved the way for the Union of 1875, an event which stands parallel to the Dominion Confederation of 1867. Of these consolidating unions no less than four took place in the Maritime Provinces.

(d) Presbyterian.

The first Presbyterians in Canada were Huguenots from France, but they were never many in number, for the intolerant policy of the French Kings compelled them to secure a special license to remain in the country. The next Presbyterians came, on the expulsion of the Acadians, from the older English colonies on the American continent, attracted by the offer of liberty of conscience "to persons of all persuasions, Papists excepted." Others arrived as settlers from Scotland and Ireland. These Presbyterians early made application to the Presbytery of New Brunswick in New Jersey, U.S.A., to send them a minister. The first Presbyterian minister to labour in what is now Canada was sent from the United States, Rev. James Lyon, who arrived in 1764. About the same time an application for a minister for the Frontier was sent to the Associate or Burgher Synod of Scotland. Though he was not the first to reach Nova Scotia from Scotland, Rev. James Murdock, sent out by the Anti-burgher Synod, was the first to be settled permanently. In Halifax, July 3, 1770, occurred the first ordination, in Canada, of a Presbyterian minister and the first meeting of a Presbytery,—it consisted of two Presbyterian, and two Congregational, ministers. In 1786 the Burgher Synod in Scotland transmitted "synodical powers of constituting a presbytery on this side of the water."[71] On August 2nd of that year the Burgher Presbytery of Truro was organized, the "last court of resort in this Province until such times as their number be so increased that it be expedient to divide into different presbyteries and to have a Synod erected."[72] The Associate

71. W. Gregg, History of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 84.
72. Ibid., 88.

or Anti-burgher Presbytery of Pictou was organized on July 7, 1795, with three ministers and one ruling elder. There had also come to Nova Scotia a group of ministers from the Church of Scotland, "some without any special appointment, some in consequence of their being designated by commissioners authorized by congregations to call pastors in their name."[73] They did not connect themselves with any Presbytery in Nova Scotia. These differing types of Presbyterians, inevitably as on the Frontier, began to feel the advantage that would be derived from Union. To this end, as early as 1795, the Presbytery of Truro made overtures to the Presbytery of Pictou. Nothing, however, had come of this proposal. But on July 3, 1817, nineteen of the twenty-three Presbyterian ministers then labouring in Nova Scotia, with the congregations and Presbyteries to which they belonged, united to form the Synod of Nova Scotia, with the constituent presbyteries of Truro, Pictou and Halifax. The Union of churches was approved by the parent Secession Churches in Scotland and Ireland. Further, their example was followed, in Ireland in 1818, in Scotland in 1820. The Frontier of the New World was showing the road to Union in the Old. Two other events should be noted as contributing to the growth of church life in the Maritime Provinces, the foundation of Pictou Academy by Dr. M'Culloch and the formation of the Glasgow Colonial Society "for promoting the moral and religious interests of the Scottish settlers in British North America."[74] One of the fundamental rules of this Society was:—"No minister shall be sent out under the patronage of the society who has not been licensed or ordained by one of the presbyteries of the Established Church, and no teacher or catechist who is not a communicant with the Established Church."[75]

73. Ibid., 119.
74. Ibid., 278; R. F. Burns, Life and Times of Rev. Robert Burns, 152; R. Gordon Balfour, Presbyterianism in the Colonies, 17.
75. W. Gregg, History of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 279.

The policy of the Glasgow Colonial Society, that its missionaries should belong to the Church of Scotland, aroused the apprehensions of the Presbyterians of Nova Scotia, lest it result in the setting up of a separate church. This fear they expressed in a memorial to the Society in August, 1825, in which they asked that the Society's missionaries should work with them as ministers of the Synod of Nova Scotia. In reply the Society expressed surprise that the brethren of the Synod of Nova Scotia would "assert an exclusive occupancy of the field." They justified the establishment of missions in connection with the Church of Scotland on the following grounds,—that the emigrants were largely, "from habit as well as by principle," attached to the Established Church; that there were already several congregations in the Colonies "in connection with the Church of Scotland," and they were in the habit of securing their ministers from Scotland; and that the Government was more likely to grant aid, which was sorely needed, in the case of missions associated with the Established Church. The anticipations of the Synod of Nova Scotia were realized. In 1833 the ministers from the Church of Scotland labouring in Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island organized a separate Synod,—the Synod of Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island in connection with the Church of Scotland. And in the same year was organized the Presbytery of New Brunswick in connection with the Church of Scotland. Loyalty to the Mother Churches in Scotland was dividing Presbyterians in the New World. Disunion was being imposed on the Frontier from abroad.

The danger of distant issues dividing the Frontier could not better be illustrated than in the case of the Disruption of the Church of Scotland in 1843. The events leading to that Disruption were followed with the keenest interest in the Maritime Provinces. The sympathy with the Free Church was more pronounced in Nova Scotia than in New Brunswick. In the former the Synod in 1844 repudiated connection with

the Church of Scotland and in its title substituted the phrase "adhering to the Westminster Standards" for the words "in connection with the Church of Scotland." The Resolution taking this action pointed out that the Presbyteries of the Nova Scotia Synod had never enjoyed the privilege of representation in the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland and had not, and could not, acknowledge that Assembly as a superior judicatory. The Synod further declared that the words "in connection with the Church of Scotland" might be thought "to express a relationship which has never existed between this Synod and an ecclesiastical body in Scotland,—a relationship which, if admitted by this Synod, could not fail, in present circumstances, to disturb the peace and unity of this Church and destroy all hope of a union, on many accounts so desirable, with another Presbyterian body in this Province."[76] So clearly did the Synod perceive that union, not division, was the solution to the problems of the Frontier. At the same time the Synod resolved to seek fraternal relations with the Free Church of Scotland and the Presbyterian Church of Ireland. Four years later the Synod assumed the name of the Synod of the Free Church of Nova Scotia. So drastic was the repudiation of relations with the Church of Scotland that at the end of 1844 only two ministers in Nova Scotia remained associated with that Church, and for ten years no Presbytery or Synod in connection with the Church of Scotland was held in Nova Scotia. In New Brunswick the Presbytery formed in 1833 in connection with the Church of Scotland had in 1835 become a Synod with two Presbyteries,—St. John and Miramichi. In the Disruption the Free Church did not awaken the same cordial sympathy in New Brunswick as in the sister Province. As a result a cleavage took place in the Synod. Of the thirteen ministers, ten remained with the Synod of New Brunswick in connection with the Church of Scotland, three constituted

76. W. Gregg, Short History of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 41.

themselves the Synod of New Brunswick adhering to the Standards of the Westminster Confession. This latter Synod, in the same year as its formation, reduced its status to a Presbytery, to become, however, a Synod again with three Presbyteries in 1854, bearing the name of the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of New Brunswick. The problems of the parent Church were causing disunion in their daughter Churches on the Frontier.

There were now five different Presbyterian bodies in the Maritime Provinces,—

1. The Synod organized in 1817,—called the Secession Synod of Nova Scotia.
2. The Synod of the Free Church of Nova Scotia.
3. The Synod of New Brunswick in connection with the Church of Scotland.
4. The Synod of the Presbyterian Church of New Brunswick.
5. The Presbytery of the Reformed Presbyterian Church of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia.

The last named body was the result of the missionary effort of the Reformed Presbyterian Synod of Ireland. This Synod sent out Rev. Alex. Clarke in 1827 and Rev. William Somerville in 1831. These missionaries with two ruling elders in 1832 constituted themselves the Reformed Presbytery of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia.

The sixties witnessed in the Maritime Provinces a process of consolidation. Already in 1845 the Secession Synod of Nova Scotia, formed in 1817, had agreed upon a basis of union with the Synod of the Free Church of Nova Scotia. But difficulties prevented the consummation of union till 1860. The Frontier was kept divided, not over its own problems, but upon the question of relation to the Churches in Scotland. The Synod of the Free Church desired to suspend all fellowship with the Church of Scotland although it still held to the establishment principle. The Secession Synod

were opposed to establishment and held to voluntaryism, but were unwilling to suspend all communion with the Church of Scotland. In 1858 negotiations were resumed. On October 4, 1860, union was consummated in Pictou under the name of the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of the Lower Provinces of British North America. Article No. 1 of the Basis of Union was a declaration of independence:

> "That whatever designation may be adopted by the United Church, it shall be in all respects free and completely independent of foreign jurisdiction and interference, but may hold friendly intercourse with sister churches whose soundness in the faith and whose ecclesiastical polity accord with the sentiments of the united body."[77]

On the same basis of union, on July 2, 1866, at St. John, N.B., this new Synod united with the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of New Brunswick. The name of the United Church of 1866 became also the Synod of the Lower Provinces. Thus was formed the first of the Maritime Churches that went into the Union of 1875 to form the Presbyterian Church in Canada.

In 1854 there was revived the Synod of Nova Scotia in connection with the Church of Scotland. This church and its sister church in the adjacent Province felt keenly the lack of ministers and missionaries to supply its vacant congregations and destitute mission fields. Urgent appeals were made, almost in vain, to the Church of Scotland. Gregg quotes from the Missionary Record of October, 1852,—

> "In New Brunswick we have four or five vacant churches, and this miserable state of things has existed for nearly ten years. During all this time our firmest friends in the Colonies have plied the Committee with petitions for ministers, bonds for their stipends, remonstrances against our apparent supineness and pleadings

77. W. Gregg, A Short History of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 95.

for aid which, unless granted by the Church of Scotland, they would be compelled to ask from some other church."[78]

On July 1, 1868, at Pictou the Synods of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia in connection with the Church of Scotland united to form the Synod of the Maritime Provinces in connection with the Church of Scotland.[79] Thus was formed the second Maritime church that went into the union of 1875 to make the Presbyterian Church in Canada.

The first Presbyterian congregation within the present bounds of Ontario and Quebec was established in the City of Quebec soon after the cession of Canada to the British. This Scotch church used the Jesuits' College as place of worship and had as minister Rev. George Henry of the Church of Scotland. In Upper Canada the first Presbyterian minister was Rev. John Bethune who in 1787 came from Montreal to the Eastern counties. The first systematic effort to send Presbyterian ministers to Upper Canada was made by the Dutch Reformed Church of the United States. This church in 1798 sent Rev. Robert McDowall to the district between Brockville and York, and five other missionaries to Upper Canada before 1800. In 1818 when the Dutch Reformed Church of the United States had still eleven mission churches in Upper Canada, it "quietly abandoned" the Canadian churches.[80] At the close of 1817 there were four settled Presbyterian ministers and three regularly organized congregations in Lower Canada, and nine settled ministers and about twenty congregations in Upper Canada. These ministers met from time to time as a presbytery, but there was no permanently organized court in the Canadas. The ministers had come from both Great Britain and the United States. They had been connected with the Church of Scotland, the Associate and Relief Synods of Scotland, the Dutch Reformed

78. Ibid., 77.
79. The full title was "The Synod of the Presbyterian Church of the Maritime Provinces of British North America in Connection with the Church of Scotland."
80. W. Gregg, History of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 108.

Church of the United States and other American Churches. In July, 1817, application was made to the Associate Synod of Scotland for authority to organize a presbytery in Canada. But before the authority was granted, as was done in April, 1818, another course of action had been decided upon, to organize an independent Presbytery. This policy was adopted by the Frontier in the interests of a more comprehensive union than would be possible with a presbytery connected with the Associate Synod. On July 9, 1818, was formally constituted the Presbytery of the Canadas. But while this Presbytery was independent of Scottish, American or other churches, it unanimously agreed to recognize the doctrines, discipline and worship of the Church of Scotland. The ministers of the Church of Scotland, however, and certain others declined to associate themselves with the Presbytery of the Canadas. Their connection with the Mother church was proving divisive on the Frontier and thwarting the hope of a comprehensive union.

In 1819 it was decided to erect the Presbytery of the Canadas into the Synod of the Canadas with four Presbyteries, one for Lower, three for Upper Canada. At Cornwall, in February, 1820, was held the first meeting of this Synod. But great distances and bad roads created such obstacles to attendance that, after four yearly meetings, the Synod of the Canadas was dissolved in 1825. The ministers then organized themselves into the United Presbytery of Upper Canada. This United Presbytery addressed itself with vigour to the problems of the growing Frontier. It addressed an appeal for help to the "Christian Public of Great Britain and Ireland" deploring its inability, due to lack of funds and of ministers, to occupy the many frontier mission fields of Canada. It projected a plan to found a literary and theological seminary and made application to the Lieutenant-Governor for the privilege of choosing a professor of divinity in King's College. The United Presbytery also made

application for a share in the Clergy Reserves, expressing a willingness to cooperate with the ministers of the Church of Scotland in securing a fair apportionment to Presbyterian ministers. Their petition was forwarded by Governor Colborne to Sir George Murray, Secretary of State for the Colonies. He replied that it was desirable that all the Presbyterian clergy of the Province should form one Synod that they might be placed on the same footing with respect to the assistance the Government might grant for their support.[81] The suggestion from Downing Street contemplated two courses of action, the formation of a Synod and the union of all Presbyterians. The United Presbytery immediately acted upon the first proposal contained in this suggestion, and in June, 1831, constituted itself the United Synod of Upper Canada. Their efforts to unite with the Synod in connection with the Church of Scotland at this time proved a failure. Thereupon the United Synod put forth a "claim to be put on an equal footing with the ministers of the Church of Scotland who are the same in principle, even though a union cannot be effected."[82] As a result of this claim the United Synod received a Government grant of £700.

We have already seen that ministers of the Church of Scotland declined to participate in the formation, in 1818, of the Presbytery of the Canadas. At that time they were only three in number, all in Lower Canada. By 1825 four others had settled in Lower Canada, and five in Upper Canada. In that year they forwarded a memorial to the newly established Glasgow Colonial Society which had come into existence to foster missions connected with the Church of Scotland. No formal organization took place in Canada till 1831 in connection with the ministers or missions of the Church of Scotland, although as early as 1793 and 1803 there had been meetings of two temporary Presbyteries of Montreal for special purposes. From time to time also

81. W. Gregg, History of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 441.
82. W. Gregg, History of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 444.

special committees had been appointed to safeguard the interests of the Church of Scotland in the Clergy Reserves. But now, in 1831, in accordance with Sir George Murray's despatch from Downing Street, a convention was held of ministers and elders in connection with the Church of Scotland representing the various congregations. They formed themselves into a Synod "to be called the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada, in connection with the Church of Scotland, leaving it to the venerable the General Assembly to determine the particular nature of that connection which shall subsist between this Synod and the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland."[83] This Synod was divided into four Presbyteries,—Quebec, Glengarry, Bathurst, York.

So far as the second proposal of Downing Street was concerned, the union of all the Presbyterians of Upper Canada who were agreed in doctrine, discipline and government with the Church of Scotland, the Synod in connection with the Church of Scotland voted in 1831 that it was "inexpedient to proceed" until they should secure further information. In the following year the Synod voted, 12 to 2, not in favour of union with the United Synod, but "to receive into the Synod the members of the United Synod of Upper Canada." This prospect of absorption was, naturally, unacceptable to the United Synod. The clerk of the Presbytery of Brockville wrote,—"One great objection is their continuing in connection with the Established Church of Scotland and with the Government. Then, it will not be a *union*, for they propose to *receive* us, and that on the most degrading and humiliating conditions, in every way unfair and unequal. When we are an independent Presbyterian body in the Province we ought to be recognized and dealt with as such, and never come down as single individuals and show our credentials for the ministry to those who have only lately come into the field which we

83. W. Gregg, History of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 456.

have occupied for years."[84] During the thirties efforts to consummate the proposed union of the two Synods met with difficulties "varying during every successive year." "But," wrote in 1840 the Moderator of the Synod to the Colonial Committee of the Church of Scotland, "the late political disturbances and the changes now contemplated in the civil government have had their influence in hastening the settlement of this measure."[85] It was the Clergy Reserves that furnished the immediate impulse towards Union, "in order," wrote the Moderator, "to secure for Presbyterians a fair share in the distribution of the property." The Union was effected on July 3, 1840, under the name "The Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada in connection with the Church of Scotland." Thus was formed the first Church in the Canadas that went into the Union of 1875 to form the Presbyterian Church in Canada. For though, as we shall see, this Church was disrupted in 1844, both the Church retaining this name and the seceding Free Church were happily reunited in the Union of 1875.

In the issues that were now confronting the Church of Scotland in the Mother Country the sympathies of the Synod in Canada were with the evangelical party. In 1841 and 1842 unanimous resolutions were passed against the encroachment of the civil power on the spiritual independence and jurisdiction of the Mother Church. In 1843, two months after the Disruption in Scotland, a series of resolutions were passed expressing "deep and affectionate sympathy with those of her rulers and members who, leaving the Establishment at the bidding of conscience, have thereby sacrificed temporal interests and personal feelings to an extent that must ever command the respect and admiration of the Christian Church.[86] Previous resolutions had been unanimous. This was passed by a majority vote, 28 to 11.

84. Ibid., 468.
85. W. Gregg, Short History of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 52-53.
86. R. Gordon Balfour, Presbyterianism in the Colonies, 29.

Before the Synod met in July, 1844, delegates arrived from the Established Church and the Free Church of Scotland to plead for their respective causes in congregations and Presbyteries. At Synod there was a protracted and keenly contested debate. The vote was taken on two resolutions, the first proposed by Rev. Dr. Cook of Quebec, the second by Rev. John Bayne of Galt. The intent of Dr. Cook's resolution was that the jurisdiction of the Synod, whatever interpretation might be put on its connection with the Church of Scotland, was, is and ought to be, final and uncontrolled; that the members pledge themselves to maintain supreme jurisdiction against all interference from any quarter whatever; that Presbyteries be directed to receive ministers and probationers from all Presbyterian Churches holding the same standards with themselves, producing satisfactory evidence of learning, character and good standing; and that, considering the divided state of opinion in the Synod, and the danger of division, it was expedient to abstain for the present from any correspondence with the parent Church. Mr. Bayne's resolution declared that the words of their title, "in connection with the Church of Scotland," were now inappropriate and should henceforth be omitted as a possible ground of misrepresentation and cause of strife, that civil sanction should be sought for the change, that, in case they forfeited their endowments through the change of name they should submit, but protest against the injustice. Dr. Cook's motion prevailed by a vote of 56 to 40. A further resolution was carried that the Synod did not feel called upon to discuss the practical bearings of the principles that had divided the mother Church, and that the connection of the Synod with the Church of Scotland did not imply either that the Canadian church was under the jurisdiction of the Church of Scotland, or that the parent Church was responsible for the conduct of the daughter Church in Canada. On July 10, 1844, the Disruption took place. Mr. Bayne and

the Moderator and Clerk of Synod and others, in all about one-fourth of the ministers, withdrew to form a separate Synod. The statements of Dissent and Protest and the replies thereto are clear and concise expressions of the issues involved. Why was the Frontier divided over an issue that had arisen, not in Canada but in Scotland? Why did not the Canadian church content itself with a statement of adherence to the principle of spiritual independence, and declare for separation and independence of all the Scottish Churches? There are two reasons. The first is that the Church in Canada was still a needy Frontier, unable to maintain and extend Gospel ordinances on the Frontier without help from the parent Church. To separate meant to lose the sympathy of the Mother Country. Queen's College, recently founded, was still unable to supply the ministers needed for Upper Canada. There was a second reason, and that lay closer at home. There was the fear that to drop from their title the words "in connection with the Church of Scotland" might involve the loss of their share in the Clergy Reserves. So that it came about that the Clergy Reserves which united the Churches in 1840 were, four years later, an important factor in the disruption of the United Church.

On July 10, 1844 the seceding ministers in Kingston organized themselves as a Synod called the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada. It was commonly known as the Synod of the Free Presbyterian Church of Canada. In 1844 this Synod memorialized the Governor-General for its share of the Clergy Reserves. Their claim was denied. Some years later, when some unappropriated funds from the sale of Clergy Reserves were offered to churches that would apply, the Synod declined to make application. It feared an adverse effect upon the generosity of its people. But it had also developed an antagonism to State endowments and refused to put its ministry in a position of undue dependence upon the State. This attitude begot a sympathy with another

group of Presbyterians whose witness was borne to the voluntary principle. So that the Clergy Reserves which contributed to the splitting off of the Free Church in 1844 contributed also to their union with another Presbyterian group in 1861.

After the union in 1820 of the Burgher and Anti-burgher Synods the United Associate Synod of the Secession Church, thus formed, decided to engage in mission work abroad. In 1832 Canada was chosen as a field of labour and three ministers were sent out. Because of their testimony to voluntaryism they felt they could not unite with the United Synod of Upper Canada or the Synod in connection with the Church of Scotland who had both applied for and received government grants. They therefore applied to the Secession Synod in Scotland for leave to form themselves into a separate Presbytery. When permission was granted, on December 25, 1834, they organized a Presbytery in Toronto, named The Missionary Presbytery of the Canadas in connection with the United Associate Synod of the Secession Church in Scotland. In 1843 this became the Missionary Synod of Canada in connection with the United Associate Secession Church in Scotland. It had three Presbyteries,—London, Flamborough and Toronto. The Missionary Presbytery of Canada East was added in 1844. In 1847, when the Secession and Relief Synods united in Scotland the Canadian Synod took the name of the Synod of the United Presbyterian Church in Canada. It was for union with this Synod that the Free Presbyterian Synod paved the way when it refused to share in the proceeds of the sales of Clergy Reserves. In 1848 a statement of points of agreement and difference between the two churches was drawn up. This statement revealed a difference of opinion on details, but a large amount of agreement on great principles. For thirteen years the statement was the subject of keen debate. Finally a Basis of Union was devised to which both Churches could subscribe without a sacrifice of principle. Liberty of opinion was

reserved on the matter of the endowment of the Church by the State. On June 6, 1861, in Montreal, was effected the union of the Synods of the United Presbyterian Church and of the Free Presbyterian Church which resulted in the formation of the Synod (General Assembly after 1870) of the Canada Presbyterian Church. Thus was formed the second Church in the Canadas that went into the Union of 1875 to make the Presbyterian Church in Canada.

In a subsequent chapter we shall see how a confederated Canada succeeded as early as 1875 in uniting into one single Presbyterian Church in Canada the four distinct Presbyterian groups whose rise we have now traced, all themselves the product of previous unions, viz.—

1. The Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada in connection with the Church of Scotland, the product of the union of 1840;
2. The Synod (after 1870, the General Assembly) of the Canada Presbyterian Church, the product of the union of 1861;
3. The Synod of the Lower Provinces, the product of the union of 1866;
4. The Synod of the Maritime Provinces in connection with the Church of Scotland, the product of the union of 1868.

The result of the efforts of this period was to make the Presbyterian Churches in Canada, free, independent, self-governing, self-supporting Canadian Churches, with a tradition of, and a bias towards, Union.

7. Religious Equality.

We have traced the process by which the chief church groups in what is now Canada,—Roman Catholics, Anglicans, Methodists and Presbyterians, became independent, self-governing, self-supporting religious bodies. We must now briefly sketch the story of the fight for religious equality. More than

one issue emerged in the struggle, but the contest centred about the right to perform the marriage ceremony, education and participation in the Clergy Reserves. After briefly alluding to the question of marriage we shall indicate the relation to this contest of two outstanding leaders, both clergymen,—Rev. Thomas McCulloch and Rev. Egerton Ryerson.

(a) Marriage Ceremony.

The question of the right to perform marriage arose in Upper Canada as a consequence of the Quebec Act, 1774. This law confirmed the "law of Canada" in all matters of civil rights. The fear arose that the Quebec Act invalidated in Upper Canada all marriages not performed according to Roman Catholic rites. In the second session of the first Parliament of Upper Canada legislation was passed to validate marriages undertaken in good faith, but not technically binding. This was done in the interest of marriages performed, owing to the dearth of ministers of religion, by military officers and civil magistrates. Such frontier marriages were now legalized.[87] Justices of the peace were henceforth permitted to perform the ceremony if the contracting parties were distant eighteen miles from a clergyman. The Church of England form of service was prescribed in every case. As soon as five Anglican clergy were resident in the District the Act was to become non-effective. During the session of 1796 a petition was presented from the Eastern District of Upper Canada asking that the Marriage Act be repealed and ministers of every denomination permitted legally to solemnize marriage. There was in Upper Canada a strong Anglican party that cherished plans for the establishment of the Church of England as the State Church. This group was soon to come under the masterful leadership of Rev. John Strachan.[88]

87. Shortt and Doughty, Canada and its Provinces, iii, 174.

88. For a favourable account of the life and work of Bishop Strachan see Article, "Bishop Strachan after Sixty Years," by Professor A. H. Young, in Willison's Monthly, November, 1927.

At this time the Governor, John Graves Simcoe, championed this cause.[89] He declared that "he thought it proper to say that he looked upon the petition as the product of a wicked head and a most disloyal heart." [90] In his eyes the petition was an open attack upon the national Church. The next attempt, he declared, would be upon the "Sevenths" set aside for the Established Clergy.

Though the right to perform marriage was conceded in Upper Canada to Presbyterians as well as to Anglicans the Presbyterian ministers were "required to submit to degrading conditions in obtaining it and to annoying restrictions in the exercise of it."[91] People grew restive under a system that stamped "non-conformity" as a crime. Rev. Mr. Bentom, a Congregationalist minister, was subjected to six months' imprisonment and a fine of £50, nominally for libel, actually for performing the marriage ceremony, administering the ordinance of baptism and officiating at funerals.[92]

In the Frontier communities of Upper Canada Methodism early proved a rugged force. Duncan Campbell Scott has eloquently described the primitive itinerant preachers: "The itinerants came and set up their altars wherever a willing human heart could be found, beneath the primeval maples, between the fire-blackened stumps of the new clearing, or under the rude scoop-roof of the first log shanty. They travelled about sometimes on horseback, sometimes on foot, roughly garbed, their knapsacks filled with a little dried venison and hard bread, sleeping in the woods, often fighting sleep when the snow lay thick on the ground, keeping at a distance a frosty death by hymns and homilies shouted to the glory of God in the keen air. Their stipends were almost naught, their parish coterminous with the trails of the savages or the slash roads of the settlers, their license to preach contained in one inspiring sentence in a little leather-covered

89 R. W. Cumberland, Pioneer Problems in Upper Canada, 8.
90. D. C. Scott, John Graves Simcoe, 161-162.
91. W. Gregg, History of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 211 and note.
92. Ibid., 153-154.

book, their churches and rectories wherever under the sky might be found human hearts to reach and native hospitality. They met the opposition which they frequently encountered each in his own way, but no threats of hanging or stripes could push them from their appointed path . . . . . As settlements increased their circuits became smaller, their people reared churches and the hardness of their lives was softened, but their zeal was unquenchable. Fanatics they undoubtedly were, yet they were cast as salt into the society of that day to preserve it on the one hand from ecclesiastical fanaticism, and upon the other from the corruption of the lawless and ignorant." [93]

It was these Methodists who bore in Upper Canada the brunt of the agitation to remove the disabilities under which all clergymen other than Roman Catholics, Anglicans and Presbyterians suffered in that they could not legally solemnize marriage.[94] In 1824 a bill to this intent was introduced into the Assembly of Upper Canada. The Assembly passed the measure, but the Legislative Council threw out the proposal.[95] It was only in 1830 that the discriminatory Act was repealed and religious equality in the matter of performing marriage was secured in Upper Canada.

A similar contest was fought in New Brunswick. There only Anglican clergy, Roman Catholic priests, Quakers and ministers in connection with the Church of Scotland could perform the marriage ceremony. The Dissenters' Marriage Bill became for years a matter of contention, and, finally, of petition to the King. When the Secretary of State criticized the suggested Bill in that it extended the privilege only to Wesleyan Methodists, Baptists, seceders from the Church of Scotland and Independents, the Bill was amended to grant the privilege of solemnizing marriage to all regularly ordain-

93. D. C. Scott, John Graves Simcoe, 162-164
94. Methodist ministers suffered both prosecution and banishment. See "Centennial of Canadian Methodism," 160.
95. W. S. Wallace, The Family Compact, 47.

ed ministers in New Brunswick. This victory for religious equality was achieved in 1834.

In Nova Scotia "dissenters" were permitted to perform marriages, but only by the tedious process of proclamation of banns.[96] The privilege of marriage by license was restricted to Anglican clergy. Some of these, however, were accustomed to endorse their licenses to dissenting clergymen. This was irregular, but, done with the knowledge of the Government, it was sanctioned by use and wont. When a Halifax minister was refused a license for his own domestic servant, Dr. McCulloch roused the dissenting clergy of the Province to such good effect that, upon petition, the Assembly recognized, even under the existing law, the right of the dissenting clergy to perform the marriage ceremony. Thereupon the Governor disallowed the Act. As a result, in spite of stiff opposition from the Church of England, another Act was passed to achieve the desired end. This was sanctioned by the Governor, but provision was made for holding it in abeyance till the will of the Prince Regent was ascertained. In his behalf Lord Bathurst replied that "marriage by banns is all that Dissenters have a right to ask, as marriage by license is not in use among them, and not favored by the Church of England, as leading to irregularity."[97] But public sentiment had been aroused. From time to time the subject was revived and, finally, the abuse was remedied and all churches and clergymen admitted to a religious equality. In Nova Scotia religious equality was promoted, also, by the election in 1822 of Lawrence Cavanagh, a Roman Catholic, as member for the county of Cape Breton. This election led to the abolition in 1827 of the test oath. The Roman Catholic religion ceased to be a disqualification for office.[98] The Frontier of Nova Scotia was leading Great Britain in the paths of religious equality and of Catholic Emancipation.

96. William McCulloch, The Life of Thomas McCulloch, D.D., 60-63.
97. William McCulloch, Life of Thomas McCulloch, D.D., 62.
98. Shortt and Doughty, Canada and its Provinces, XIII, 271.

(b) Education.

(1) Nova Scotia.

In Nova Scotia an important phase of the struggle for equality in civil rights for all religions was the fight against Anglican exclusiveness in the cause of education. The contest over this issue resulted not only in the removal of obnoxious privileges and in common treatment for all religious bodies, but, also, through the conflict over a grant to Pictou Academy, in which the Assembly and the irresponsible Executive Council engaged, in advancing the cause of responsible government by making, in 1848, the Government subordinate to the Assembly.[99] The leader in the fight for equal treatment was Rev. Thomas McCulloch.[100] McCulloch, a minister of the Secession Church of Scotland, came to Nova Scotia in August, 1803. Finding great religious destitution in the face of an increasing immigration, he set himself to the task of training a native ministry. Excluded from the privileges of King's College, he founded Pictou Academy. It was his struggle to secure support for this institution that led him to study more profoundly the relations of the Government to non-Anglicans in the matter of education.

In 1782 a grant of 400 acres of land for a school at Windsor passed the Legislature. This was the beginning of King's College, a type of Loyalist, Anglican institution that, in this period, was rearing its head in several places on the continent to offset liberalism. The character of the College was safeguarded by three measures,—the appointment of a Board of Trustees composed of "placemen," invariably Anglicans,—the Bishop, the President of the Council and the Speaker of the Assembly; the securing of a Royal charter; and the enactment of exclusive by-laws which imposed Anglican tests. Professors and students alike were required to subscribe to the 39 Articles. Even Anglican

99. Shortt and Doughty, Canada and its Provinces, XIV, 516; W. C. Murray, University Development in Canada. Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 3rd series, Vol. XVI, 88.

100. William McCulloch, The Life of Thomas McCulloch, D.D.

exclusiveness has seldom found more intolerant expression than in the following statute of King's College, Windsor:

> "No member of the University shall frequent the Romish mass, or the meeting houses of Presbyterians, Baptists or Methodists or the conventicles or places of worship of any dissenters from the Church of England, or whose divine services shall not be performed according to the liturgy of the Church of England, or shall be present at any rebellious or seditious meetings. No degree shall be conferred till the candidate shall have subscribed the Thirty-Nine Articles, and the three Articles of the Thirty-Ninth Canon of the Synod held in London in 1603." [101]

Even Bishop Inglis and the Archbishop of Canterbury protested. But the Governors were more Anglican than the Bishops. A critic of the time wrote:—"Those who framed the statutes have gone upon a wrong, a narrow and contracted plan, because agreeable thereto the University can be of no benefit or service to the far greater part of the inhabitants of Nova Scotia . . . . . I observe that the framers of the statutes have manifested a considerable degree of uncharitable, illiberal spirit toward other denominations of Christians, who think they have a right to differ from the Church of England in some if not in many things, and would intimate to them, by entirely debarring them from the benefits of the University, that they are unworthy to be taught the arts and sciences . . . . . Moreover the statutes appear to me to have a good deal of injustice attending them, because they deprived persons of the benefit of a Seminary which they contribute to support as much, and more, than those who do reap the benefit, as they are the more numerous." [102]

It was this attitude and policy that aroused the non-Anglicans to secure an education elsewhere than at Windsor. McCulloch founded a "Log College" at Pictou. When this

101. William McCulloch, The Life of Thomas McCulloch, 39.
102. Ibid., 40-41.

was burned,—"unquestionably the work of an incendiary, due to party spirit"—another building was erected, to become "the spot where the first effort was made in Nova Scotia to provide higher education untrammelled by the spirit of sectarianism." [103]

Ecclesiastical exclusiveness on the part of Anglicans led to the founding of Dalhousie College in 1820. At the cornerstone laying Lord Dalhousie stated: "Its doors are open to all who profess the Christian religion. It is particularly intended for those who are excluded from Windsor College."[104] King's College had aimed to preserve the tie with Britain and with the Church of England. It had now succeeded in calling into being two rival institutions, and in dividing the political and religious life of the Province. Secure in the possession of a Royal Charter and in the favour of the Council and successive Governors, King's College pursued its exclusive course. The battle for Pictou Academy entered the Legislature. The Assembly espoused its cause. A spirit of opposition to the Anglican monopoly of education arose, and a well-defined cleavage became manifest in the Province, —non-Anglicans and the Assembly arranged on the Reform side against Anglicans, Council, Governor. Religion, education, and politics were inextricably intermingled. When a charter was sought for Pictou Academy the Council sought to handicap its Trustees and to involve the Presbyterians in the odium that the Anglicans had earned for themselves through their exclusiveness. It restricted the appointment of Trustees and Professors to Anglicans and Presbyterians. It inserted what was regarded as an insulting provision requiring Presbyterian Professors and Trustees to make a declaration of adherence to the Confession of Faith before a Judge of the Supreme Court.[105]

103. Ibid., 44.
104. Ibid., 56.
105. Ibid., 48.

In the battle against exclusive Anglicanism Dr. McCulloch led. He aroused his own Church, he encouraged the other non-Anglican religious bodies to protest, he made abundant use of pulpit, platform and press. He persuaded his own Synod to ask aid towards establishing a Professorship of Divinity in Pictou Academy. He induced his Church to enlist the cooperation of the Methodists and Baptists in securing equal rights to all the Churches. This led to a statement of claims presented to the Government: "First, the right of marrying by license without proclamation of banns; second, the right of congregations to hold real estate,—so far, at least, as regards places of worship and glebes; third, the right to enjoy a proportional share of whatever money is granted by the British Parliament for the support of the Gospel in this Province; fourth, that admissibility to be trustees in Pictou Academy be extended to dissenters of all denominations."[106] Nothing was gained immediately, but the Province was gradually aroused. Men began to see that McCulloch, in waging his battle, was contending for equal rights to all Churches. McCulloch prepared a Memorial for Sir James Kempt, the Governor. This set forth the difficulties which the non-Anglicans had to encounter and made special mention of the exertions made by Presbyterians to provide religious ordinances and a native ministry for their increasing population. He drew His Excellency's attention to the Royal Bounty Fund, designed not for the benefit of any party, but of the Colonies. The Memorial prayed that the Governor would bring the necessities of Presbyterians and others before His Majesty with a view to their participation in this Fund. The Memorial failed to secure Non-Anglicans a share in the Fund, but each effort helped towards the goal. McCulloch had to fight against the hostility of the Governor, the open opposition of a majority of the Council, the secret influence of the Bishop, the jealousy and non-

106. W. Gregg, Short History of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 32.

cooperation of the Kirk, and had to overcome the handicap of being a Liberal.[107]

Although the Assembly annually voted in favour of a grant to Pictou, the grant was stopped and the Academy in 1832 became a secondary school. "Religious bigotry made Pictou Academy necessary," writes MacMechan, "and religious bigotry wrecked it."[108] Ministers "in connection with the Church of Scotland" gained a share in the control, dissension broke out in its management, and the Academy under its old character ceased to carry on. In 1838 McCulloch as Principal and the Assembly's grant to the Academy were transferred to Dalhousie College. In the same year the Baptists founded Acadia College at Wolfville. President Murray has summarized the result for King's College:—"A long and bitter fight led to a modification of the statutes of the Windsor College. At first subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles was postponed until graduation, then abolished. The students were free to attend such religious exercises as their parents wished, but were required to be instructed in religion and were strictly supervised while in College. Tests for professors were withdrawn, except for Professors of Divinity, but until the end the President was required to be a clergyman in Holy Orders and the control of the Governing Board was to remain in the hands of members of the Church of England."[109]

The issue of the contest in Nova Scotia lies rather in the political and educational world than in the religious field. Religious equality was achieved, but in the shape of small church colleges scattered through the Maritimes. A more splendid legacy of the struggle lay in the victory, in 1848, of responsible government.

107. William McCulloch, Life of Thomas McCulloch, D.D., 134.
108. Shortt and Doughty, Canada and its Provinces, XIII, 265.
109. W. C. Murray, University Development in Canada, Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 3rd series, Vol. XVI, p. 87.

(2) Upper Canada.

(a) Public Schools.

In Upper Canada the Constitutional Act of 1791 vested the reality of power in the Governor and an oligarchy, and made provision to endow the Protestant Religion, interpreted to mean the Church of England. A state Church and a governing class were to be imposed on United Empire Loyalists. Such, at any rate, was the dream of John Graves Simcoe and Rev. John Strachan. To Anglicans, and to them alone, were to be assigned control of the government, possession of the Clergy Reserves, direction of educational policy, and monopoly of the legal right to hold church property and to discharge the ecclesiastical functions of baptism and marriage. It was the tide of immigration that set in after the War of 1812 that made the Clergy Reserves productive. In these, as in other exclusive privileges to which the Church of England laid claim, the Church of Scotland asserted and secured the right to share. Over the district and common schools Dr. Strachan secured a large measure of control, having succeeded in getting himself installed as chairman of the Provincial Board of Education. Resistance to these oligarchic and ecclesiastical pretensions came, on the one hand, from the Assembly, where after 1824 the popular party were in the majority and able, if not to achieve reforms, at any rate to articulate their protests; on the other hand from the Methodists, upon whom the handicap of Anglican monopoly bore most heavily. The Methodists, whose parent church was in the United States, deeply resented the charges levelled at them of republicanism and disloyalty to the British connection. The man who stood forth as champion of the Methodists was Rev. Egerton Ryerson, at this time only 23 years of age, not yet ordained, only "received on trial." The occasion was the famous sermon of Dr. Strachan, July 3, 1825, on the death of Bishop Mountain of Quebec. Dr. Burwash has indicated the main points in that discourse:—

"(1) The maintenance of the Divine authority and exclusive validity of the Episcopal Church polity; (2) the necessity of a State Church and the moral obligation of the government to provide for its establishment and support; (3) the claim of the Church of England to be the Established Church of this colony and to the exclusive enjoyment of the clergy reserves; (4) disparaging references to other religious bodies, in which he represents them as disloyal, as imbued with republican and levelling opinions, as ignorant, incapable, and idle, and pictures the country which was largely supplied with the means of grace through their services as in a state of utter moral and religious destitution." [110] In "The Story of My Life" Egerton Ryerson has given us the character of his reply and the nature of the impression that it created:—"Its publication produced a sensation scarcely less violent and general than a Fenian invasion. It is said that before every house in Toronto (then the town of York) might be seen groups reading and discussing the paper on the evening of its publication in June; and the excitement spread throughout the country. It was the first defiant defence of the Methodists, and of the equal and civil rights of all religious persuasions, the first protest and argument, on legal and British constitutional grounds, against the erection of a dominant church establishment supported by the state in Upper Canada. It was the Loyalists of America and their descendants who first lifted up the voice of remonstrance against ecclesiastical despotism in the province, and unfurled the flag of equal religious rights and liberty for all religious persuasions. The sermon of the Archdeacon of York was the third formal attack made by the Church of England clergy upon the character of their unoffending Methodist brethren and those of other religious persuasions, but no defence of the assailed parties had as yet been written.

110. Nathanael Burwash, Egerton Ryerson, 67; George F. Playter, The History of Methodism in Canada, 272; Thomas Webster, History of the M. E. Church in Canada, 195.

At that time the Methodists had no law to secure a foot of land on which to build parsonages or chapels and in which to bury their dead; their ministers were not allowed to solemnize matrimony, and some of them had been the objects of cruel and illegal persecution on the part of magistrates and others in authority. And now they were the butt of unprovoked and unfounded aspersions from two heads of Episcopal clergy, while pursuing the 'noiseless tenor of their way' through trackless forests and bridgeless rivers and streams, to preach among the scattered inhabitants the unsearchable riches of Christ." [111]

The Anglican programme of Dr. Strachan lies revealed in his activities during 1827. In that year he sought to introduce a Bill into the Imperial Parliament to enable the Crown to sell a portion of the Clergy Reserves in the interests of the "Protestant Clergy." He also secured a charter for King's College which required its Visitor to be a Bishop, its President an Anglican clergyman, its Professors members of the Church of England, and its degrees in divinity restricted to those who subscribed to Anglican tests. Further Dr. Strachan prepared a document for the Secretary of State for the Colonies describing the needs and claims of the Church in Upper Canada and asking for an establishment of two or three hundred clergymen to be supported from funds in England. With an accompanying ecclesiastical chart he discussed adversely the other religious bodies of the Province. Some he stigmatized as "very ignorant." He declared:—

> "The teachers of the different denominations, with the exception of two ministers of the Church of Scotland, four Congregational ministers, and a respectable English missionary who presided over a Wesleyan Methodist meeting in Kingston, are for the most part from the United States, where they gather their knowledge and form their sentiments. Indeed, the Methodist teachers are subject to the

111. Egerton Ryerson, The Story of My Life, 49.

orders of the United States of America, and it is manifest that the Colonial Government neither has, nor can have, any other control over them, or prevent them from gradually rendering a large portion of the population, by their influence and instructions, hostile to our institutions, civil and religious, than by increasing the number of the established clergy." [112]

The ambitions of the Strachan Anglicanism now stood clearly disclosed in unabashed frankness. The domination of the Church of England and its recognition as a State Church involved not only its endowment out of Clergy Reserves and Imperial funds and Anglican control of all grades of education, but also the slighting, if not extermination, of all non-Anglican religious bodies.[113] To such arrogance the only answer possible was resistance and war. The ecclesiastical chart yielded two immediate results. It called forth a masterful reply from Ryerson and it roused the whole countryside. Ryerson carefully examined Strachan's fundamental doctrines and took his stand upon the position that a Church's work was moral and spiritual, not political. He insisted that an Established Church was neither a benefit to the State nor the necessary nor best means for promoting the interests of religion, that the Church of England in Canada neither was now nor ought to be the Established Church or invested with peculiar privileges and endowments, and that the sectarian character of the charter of King's College was detrimental to religion, education and the welfare of the Province. This reply made Ryerson the acknowledged leader of the movement for religious liberty and equal civil rights. The second result of the chart was resentment throughout the Province, so profound and active that petitions at once poured in from all sections clamouring for an investigation. A Special Committee of the Assembly was appointed. Fifty-two witnesses

112. Alexander Sutherland, The Methodist Church and Missions, 169.
113. George F. Playter, The History of Methodism in Canada, 300.

from many parts of Upper Canada was examined. The consensus of their opinion was:—

> "That the people of the Province were not in favour of having one or more churches or denominations established by law with exclusive rights, privileges or endowments; that they did not wish the proceeds of the Clergy Reserves to be given to clergymen of the Church of England, but that they be devoted to general education and internal improvements."[114]

The Special Committee reported to the Legislature that it would be "unjust and impolitic to exalt" the Church of England "by exclusive and peculiar rights above all others of his Majesty's subjects who are equally loyal, conscientious and deserving"; that the people of the Province entertained "a strong and settled aversion to anything like an Established Church, and that an attempt to incorporate the Church of England, or any other Church, in such a capacity would excite alarm throughout the country, and the actual execution of such a measure would produce the most general and lasting discontent"; and that the Clergy Reserves should be devoted to the purposes of education.[115]

It is from 1827 that the beginnings of victory in the fight for religious equality must be dated. The arrogance of Strachan had over-reached itself. The Assembly was aroused to remove the most glaring inequalities. All the religious bodies were authorized to hold land for churches, parsonages and burial grounds, and their ministers empowered to solemnize marriages.[116] From this same time, as an answer to arrogance and in self-defence, the non-Anglican churches began a constructive programme of action. Thus the Methodists in 1829 established the "Christian Guardian" and appointed Egerton Ryerson its editor. The champion of religious equality now had an effective weapon with which to wage

114. Alex. Sutherland, The Methodist Church and Missions, 172.
115. Ibid., 173-174.
116. George F. Playter, The History of Methodism in Canada, 339.

battle. In 1830 the Methodists took steps to found a Seminary in protest against Anglican exclusiveness in education. Opening as an academy in 1836, it became Victoria College, obtaining "the first royal charter ever granted by the imperial government for an educational institution outside of an Established church." [117] In 1833 they sent Ryerson to England with a monster petition, signed by 20,000, setting forth the grievances of the Canadian people and asking that the Clergy Reserves be devoted to education.

We have already noted two separations that mark the story of these struggles. Ryerson withdrew from the Radicals because he felt that they were tending towards revolution and that British connection was thereby endangered. And in his own Church he witnessed a disruption because the British Wesleyans objected to the Canadian policy of the "Christian Guardian" in claiming the Clergy Reserves for educational purposes. But if the Methodists were too British for the Radicals and not British enough for the Wesleyans, they remained steady through the troublous upheavals of 1837. Ryerson later could boast that not a single member of the Methodist Church was implicated in the rebellion of 1837-1838. In 1838, he again became editor of the "Christian Guardian" and from its pages waged the battle for religious liberty and equal civil rights and against a state church and a political oligarchy.

The battle for religious equality was a struggle against Anglican domination. Their ecclesiastical ambitions embraced the following items,—control of the Government, possession of the Clergy Reserves, direction of educational policy and monopoly of the legal right to hold church property and to discharge the ecclesiastical functions of baptism and marriage. The recognition of the claims of Presbyterian ministers and congregations in connection with the Church of Scotland constituted the first inroad on their entrenched

117. Nathanael Burwash, Egerton Ryerson, 142.

privileges. We have seen that the Assembly's answer to Dr. Strachan's chart was to pronounce against the principle of an Established Church. It followed this up in 1830 by repealing the burdensome Marriage Act and by authorizing all religious bodies to hold lands for churches, parsonages and burial grounds. The hope of controlling the Government was now dashed by Lord Durham's Report, the fall of the Family Compact, and the institution of popular responsible government which received its complete and final sanction under Lord Elgin. In 1846, under the Common School Act, framed by Ryerson, was established a comprehensive system of state provision of education, which not only provided equal rights to every child irrespective of the religion, rank or wealth of child or parent, but also, in local control, recognized the principle of popular self-government.[118]

(b) King's College.

The other symbol of victory for religious equality in the matter of education in Upper Canada was to remove the denominational character of the Charter of King's College. This still remained a Church of England institution. In 1843 Robert Baldwin, who deplored the prospect of Canadian education persisting on sectarian lines, introduced a Bill to provide for a University that would be truly provincial. He proposed a "general federation of the existing sectarian institutions into a single provincial establishment looking to the state for its support, including denominational colleges as its affiliated members but itself of an entirely unsectarian character."[119] The Presbyterians, who had not yet erected their buildings in Kingston, heartily supported this plan. Owing to the recent building of Victoria College at Cobourg the Methodists found it impracticable to enter into the project, but Ryerson, on their behalf, strongly defended the Bill and fought the contention that the land grant of 1799, made to King's College, was a gift to the Church of Eng-

118. Egerton Ryerson, The Story of My Life, 372.
119. S. B. Leacock, Baldwin, La Fontaine, Hincks, 194-195.

land.[120] The Anglicans strenuously opposed the measure as a spoliation of their Church. Strachan led the attack. He presented to Parliament a petition on which the first signature was "John, by Divine Permission, First Bishop of Toronto." This petition declared:

> "The leading object of the bill is to place all forms of error on an equality with truth by patronizing equally within the same institution an unlimited number of sects whose doctrines are absolutely irreconcilable: a principle in its nature atheistical, and so monstrous in its consequences that, if successfully carried out, it would utterly destroy all that is pure and holy in morals and religion, and lead to greater corruption than anything adopted during the madness of the French Revolution . . . . . Such a fatal departure from all that is good is without a parallel in the history of the world." [121]

W. H. Draper exposed the weak point of the Bill, which was its interference with charter rights. The measure had reached its Second Reading when the Metcalfe Crisis led to the resignation of the Cabinet and the dropping out of all legislation. In 1846, W. H. Draper himself introduced a Bill similar to the Baldwin measure of 1843, but abandoned it on account of opposition from his own friends. In 1847 Sir John A. Macdonald proposed that the Province should take over King's College, subsidize an Anglican College to the extent of £3,000 annually and Colleges for the Presbyterians, Methodists and Roman Catholics each to the extent of £1,500. All parties, including Dr. Strachan, accepted this solution as a reasonable compromise, but, when the Bill was introduced, the Bishop withdrew his consent and the Bill was dropped.[122] In 1848 the second administration of La Fontaine-Baldwin began that career of service, 1848-1851,

120. Egerton Ryerson, The Story of My Life, 526.
121. Journal of the Legislative Assembly, November 6, 1843, quoted in S. B. Leacock, Baldwin, La Fontaine, Hincks, 196.
122. George R. Parkin, Sir John A. Macdonald, 29.

which, through the settlement of the school system, the organization of municipal government and the opening of the railroad system of Canada, earned for itself the title of the Great Ministry.[123] A further distinction was that it created the University of Toronto in place of King's College. The control of the University was entirely withdrawn from the Church, except that the different denominational Colleges were each granted a representative on the Senate of the University. Religious tests were abolished for professors and students. Bishop Strachan was furious. In protest he founded, in 1851, Trinity College as an institution of the Church of England. But Robert Baldwin had put the copestone of religious equality on the educational system of the Province by removing from the Provincial University its sectarian character. In 1827 Dr. Strachan had written,—"I am happy to tell you that I had the good fortune to accomplish the most material part of my mission before the crash amongst the ministry took place. *My* university charter was issued on March 22nd."[124] There was a deep gulf between 1827 and 1849, the gulf of religious equality and responsible government. King's College was no longer Anglican, but had become the Provincial University of Toronto. And "*My* University" had to be built as Trinity College out of the sacrifice of Anglicans in the same way as Presbyterians, Methodists and Roman Catholics had established their Colleges at Kingston, Cobourg and elsewhere.

(c) Clergy Reserves.

The last battlement of privilege that fell before the rising tide of religious democracy was the Clergy Reserves. We must now trace the course by which the question of a State Church and the Clergy Reserves, which for over half a century embittered the public and religious life of Upper Canada,

123. S. B. Leacock, Baldwin, La Fontaine, Hincks, 281.
124. Nathanael Burwash, Egerton Ryerson, 73.

was settled along radical lines by a Government led by the Arch-Tory MacNab.

We have already noted that the Constitutional Act of 1791 set apart one-seventh of the land of Upper Canada for the support of a "Protestant Clergy." Pitt informed Fox that this meant the Clergy of the Church of England, and that he intended to send a bishop to Canada and to set up and to endow rectories.[125] Pitt could scarcely have anticipated the subsequent course of settlement and religious history in Canada. The Anglican clergy came to be only a fraction of the religious leaders of the country. And the unoccupied areas of the Reserves constituted a great impediment to travel and settlement. The Clergy Reserves became a subject of both political agitation and religious rivalry. Other Protestant denominations set up a claim to share in the proceeds of the sale of land, for at that time scarcely a single religious body objected to government aid. What the non-Anglican denominations found reprehensible was unequal treatment with the Church of England.

The Church of Scotland, on the basis of also being an Established Church, was the first to assert and to secure a share in the Reserves. This encouraged other religious bodies to claim their rights as "Protestant." There is little doubt that the discontent was aggravated by Strachan's tactless Anglicanism and Sir John Colborne's blunder, on the eve of his resignation as Lieutenant-Governor, in creating and endowing forty-four rectories. The Clergy Reserves were, undoubtedly, one of the causes of the Rebellion. Lord Durham proposed that the revenues arising from them should be placed at the disposal of the Legislature. He implied that they had "better be devoted to the advancement of intellectual culture than to the fostering of unchristian church rivalry."[126] In 1840 Lord Sydenham induced the Assembly to pass a measure to sell the Reserves and to divide the

125. G. M. Wrong, History of Canada, 171-172.
126. Adam Shortt, Lord Sydenham, 93.

proceeds among the various religious bodies recognized by law. To this Strachan offered the most vehement objections. He hoped to use his ecclesiastical influence in the House of Lords to defeat the proposal. But Sydenham wrote bluntly to Lord John Russell,—"If the Lords reject the Bill, upon their heads be the consequences. I will not answer for the Government of the Province if the measure should come back. In case there is any blunder made by the lawyers, you must re-enact the Bill in England."[127] The consequence was that, when it was found that in certain details the Bill was found to be *ultra vires* of the Legislature, the Imperial Parliament itself, on Sydenham's suggestion, passed the Bill. The Clergy Reserves were now regulated by an Imperial Act, and there was peace in Upper Canada. That peace would have been permanent had it not been for Bishop Strachan.

Sydenham's solution had given two-thirds of the proceeds of previous sales to the Church of England, and one-third to the Church of Scotland; it had assigned one-third of future sales to the Church of England, one-sixth to the Church of Scotland and the balance for other religious bodies to be applied by the Governor, on the advice of his Council, "for purposes of public worship and religious instruction in Canada.[128] It was Strachan who was responsible for reopening the question.[129] He was restive under the seeming recognition of the other religious bodies, and dissatisfied with the apportionment assigned to the Church of England. He grasped for more and lost all. In doing so he aroused the Radicals who advocated a policy of complete secularization.[130]

The Act of Union, 1841, linked together Upper and Lower Canada and yielded difficult political situations. In Lower Canada the spirit of the Revolution of 1848 had now infected many of the younger group of French public leaders.

127. Ibid., 248.
128. George R. Parkin, Sir John A. Macdonald, 60.
129. Egerton Ryerson, The Story of My Life, 381.
130. Adam Shortt, Lord Sydenham, 249.

The *Parti Rouge*, led by Antoine Dorion, rallied around the old chieftain Papineau to fight the political domination of the Roman Catholic priests. In Upper Canada was awakened a like spirit to struggle against clerical influence. This attitude captured the advanced wing of the Reform party. They formed a group known as the "Clear Grits." The Clear Grits advocated the secularization of the Clergy Reserves. Baldwin and La Fontaine were more moderate in their policies than some of their followers. As a consequence Baldwin resigned, La Fontaine accepted the Bench, and the administration was reorganized in 1851 as the Hincks-Morin Ministry. We have seen that the Clergy Reserves had, as a result of Lord Sydenham's letter to Lord John Russell, come under the scope of Imperial legislation. To enable the Canadian Legislature to deal with the Reserves it was necessary to ask for the repeal of the British Act. The Reform leaders hesitated to take this step. Their moderation and procrastination cost them the support of the Clear Grits, now led by George Brown. Brown combined with the Conservative leader, MacNab, to defeat the Hincks-Morin ministry in 1854. But it was easier to defeat the old administration than to form a new ministry. It was at this juncture that the adroit genius of Sir John A. Macdonald emerged. Forming a coalition of moderate men on both sides he created the Liberal-Conservative party. He abandoned the traditional Conservative support of the Church of England in the matter of the Clergy Reserves. He prevented a Ministry of the Clear Grits by appropriating their policy. Macdonald was a shrewd judge of the drift of public opinion and incorporated in the Liberal-Conservative programme the secularization of Clergy Reserves and the abolition of the Seigniorial Tenure. "What the Conservative party," writes Parkin, "would never have done of itself, what the Reform party had never dared to attempt the new administration promptly carried out. Loud and bitter was the outcry of Tory veterans of many a hard

fought field when they saw the surrender of the central citadel around which their past conflicts had been waged. Louder still and still more dread were the denunciations hurled against what they called the "Unholy Alliance" by those who had themselves expected to give the finishing blow to those ancient grievances that had so long furnished the staple of political agitation.[131]

The Bill protected vested interests by making provision during their life for clergymen then receiving benefit from the Clergy Reserves. The balance was handed over to municipalities on the basis of their population. The Clergy Reserves were henceforth to be devoted to the useful purpose of making roads and building bridges on the Frontier.

The Church of England was greater in its defeat than in the days of its arrogance. All Churches accepted the settlement. At a later date Macdonald paid them a high tribute,—"To the credit of the Churches concerned, and of their clergy, be it said, that, great as was their loss, and enormous their sacrifice—for they had a claim on the full half of the proceeds—they acquiesced in the settlement we proposed, because they felt that they ought not to be the cause of strife, and would not be placed in a false position, and have it said that they looked more after temporal than spiritual things. Though the pittances paid were small, I am happy to have personally received assurances from the clergy of these Churches—from their bishops downwards—that they are glad our legislation succeeded."[132]

Thus fell the last bulwark of Anglican arrogance. With the secularization of the Clergy Reserves religious equality was finally achieved. The Church of England in Canada had taken its position as a Canadian Church on the same footing as its sister Churches.

131. G. R. Parkin, Sir John A. Macdonald, 63-64.
132. Ibid., 66.

The issues of the period 1791-1867 were peculiarly the product of the Frontier. The Church of England in Canada sought to regard Canada as a Frontier of England and to have extended to this country the high position and special privileges enjoyed by the National Church in the Mother Country. But the growing communities had insisted upon the claims of the Frontier life of Canada. The Clergy Reserves furnished a natural and inevitable ground of conflict. On the one hand they were for the Anglican Church the symbol of Privilege. On the other hand they were for the growing non-Anglican Churches of pioneer communities the symbol of Need. And on the Frontier Need ever prevails over Privilege, and Unity and Religious Equality triumph over Division and Preferred Treatment.

During 1791-1867 the Frontier took over responsibility for its own religious life. The Churches of Canada became self-governing, self-supporting, and equal in civil rights.

Chapter VIII.

The New Frontier of Western Canada

1. The Farther West.

In 1640, or 1641, Isaac Jogues and Charles Raymbault, Jesuit priests, visited Sault Ste. Marie and on what was then the western Frontier planted a great Cross facing the Frontier of the Farther West. It is to the winning of that Farther West and to the establishment of religion in that region that this chapter is devoted.

Lawrence J. Burpee has spoken of that Call of the West which from the beginning has been a vital factor in the exploration of America. This he defines as the "spirit of adventure of a vigorous people acting upon a deep-rooted racial tendency to follow the path of the sun."[1] With Jacques Cartier began the effort, long sustained, to find the route to the Western Sea, or Mer de l'Ouest, which was conceived of as the farthest Frontier. At first this was supposed to lie not far from Montreal. But as the explorers followed up the waterways of the Continent the Western Sea tantalizingly receded. At last it became evident that the St. Lawrence, the Great Lakes and the Mississippi could not furnish immediate ingress to the Western Sea. There still remained two great avenues of hope,—the way of the Plains and the northern gateway of Hudson Bay. It was the exploration of these that opened up the way to the New Frontier of the West, since 1870 Western Canada. Ultimately men found in the far North the difficult and hazardous route to the Western Sea. But more important than this dangerous sea-way is the new fertile land of Prairie, Mountain and Coast which the explor-

1. Lawrence J. Burpee, The Search for the Western Sea, page xiii. For western exploration this book is invaluable. See also Agnes L. Laut's Pathfinders of the West, and The Conquest of the Great North West.

ations have given as a Canaan of hope for the peoples of the earth, the Last West.

2. The Explorers.

From Hudson and James Bays distinct routes lead to Lake Winnipeg by five rivers,—Churchill, Nelson, Hayes, Severn, Albany. Of these the third became for explorers and fur-traders the main route into the interior of the country. From Lake Superior there was one main route to Lake Winnipeg by way of Rainy Lake, Rainy River and Lake of the Woods. Along these routes fur-traders established their posts, e.g. Oxford House and Norway House on the northern route, and at Rainy Lake, Lake of the Woods and at the mouth of the Winnipeg River on the southern. The routes from the East having converged on Lake Winnipeg, they thence radiated, like the spokes of a wheel, one route leading by way of the Red, Assiniboine and Souris Rivers to the Missouri, two others by the branches of the Saskatchewan, a fourth by way of Cumberland Lake, northward to the Churchill, Athabaska, Great Slave and Peace. The explorers now fronted northward towards the Arctic and westward towards the Pacific. Towards the north flowed the river system which ended in the Mackenzie River. "The explorers," writes Burpee, "now commanded the approaches to the mountains, and the country west of the mountains, by three several routes; they invaded the Pacific Slope, first by way of Peace River, then by way of the Saskatchewan, and later by way of the Athabaska, and all three routes finally brought them to the shores of the Pacific." [2]

Over this great sweep of land the explorers felt their way. Of these we name the five greatest,—Pierre Esprit Radisson, the great pathfinder who discovered Hudson Bay from the land side and founded the Company of Gentlemen Adventurers which still bears the name of those great inland waters; M. de la Vérendrye who explored the valley of the Saskatche-

2. Lawrence J. Burpee, The Search for the Western Sea, page 1.

wan and discovered the Great North West; Alexander MacKenzie who reached the Arctic Coast and made the first overland journey to the Pacific; Simon Fraser who in 1808 explored to its mouth the river called in his honour; and David Thompson, equally great as astronomer, geographer, explorer. These men discovered the Western Frontier.

3. The First Missionary.

The first reference to the task of providing for the religious needs of this Western Frontier that the writer has been able to discover is found in a Minute Book of the Hudson's Bay Company. The date was April 30, 1683. Mr. John French, M.A., was appointed to the post of minister at the Bay at twenty pounds per year for three years. Whether he ever reached the Bay is not known, but it is very unlikely. The only further reference to Mr. French that was discovered was that a small payment of money had been advanced to him, perhaps for outfitting expenses.

4. Before the Selkirk Settlers.

There was no church life on the Prairies before the coming of the Selkirk Colonists. Not many explorers in the West were fired by a zeal for religion. In this respect the early explorers of the West seem to have differed profoundly from those of Eastern Canada. M. de la Vérendrye, however, included Father Mesaiger, a Jesuit missionary, in the first expedition in search of the Western Sea. In 1733 ill-health forced Father Mesaiger to return East. Two years later Father Aulneau was appointed to take up his work. He does not appear to have laboured in what is now Western Canada, but among the Mandans. In 1736, while proceeding to visit Michilimackinac, he was murdered by the Sioux, who regarded the French as partisans of the Crees. In 1743 Father Cocquart reached the Forks of the Red and Assiniboine rivers and for several months conducted a mission at

Fort la Reine, the site of the present Portage la Prairie.[3] When M. de la Vérendrye retired from his thankless task of western exploration and of setting up of trading posts, his successors evinced little sympathy for, and gave no support to, religion. One missionary, Father de la Morinie, spent the year 1750-1751 at Fort la Reine but he became thoroughly discouraged and withdrew. No further missions were attempted till after settlers arrived at the Red River. As with explorers, so with the traders and the great fur companies. At times they encouraged exploration, but not mission work. At most a form of service might be read at a trading post and the virtue of honesty inculcated. At times the Factors and Traders were religiously-minded and reproved immorality and debauchery. An outstanding example is the case of Daniel Williams Harmon whose Journals contain not only the usual observations on the life and customs of the West but, as well, an amount of religious reflection that is not met with in the writings of any other fur-trader or explorer. The following are extracts from Harmon's Journal:

Sunday, November 16th, 1800:

"Last Wednesday, twelve families of Crees and Assiniboins came from the large prairies, and let us have furs and provisions. Both the men and women have been drinking, ever since, and their noise is very disagreeable; for they talk, sing and cry, at the same time.—Our men play at cards on the sabbath, the same as on any other day. For such improper conduct I once reproved them; but their reply was, there is no Sabbath in this country, and, they added, no God nor devil; and their behaviour but too plainly shows that they spoke as they think."[4]

3. A. G. Morice, Histoire de l'Eglise Catholique dans l'ouest Canadien, 1659-1905, i, 49.
4. Daniel Williams Harmon, A Journal of Voyages and Travels in the Interior of North America, 34. See also 195-198.

Christmas, 1802:

"This day being Christmas, our people have spent it as usual in drinking and fighting. My education has taught me that the advent of a Saviour ought to be celebrated in a far different manner." [5]

Factors and Traders, however, were on the whole interested in peltries, not in the salvation of souls.

5. The Red River Settlers.

At the beginning of the nineteenth Century the Western Frontier was still unpeopled save for the fur-traders and the aboriginal nomadic population. The beginnings of permanent settlement are associated with the Red River Settlement, founded by Earl Selkirk. It was Alexander Mackenzie who first implanted an interest in the prairies in the mind of Thomas, fifth Earl of Selkirk. Selkirk had a passion for the Frontier and longed to found colonies. He had made earlier attempts in Prince Edward Island and at Baldoon, Kent County, Ontario. On June 12, 1811, he secured from the Hudson's Bay Company a large territory at the forks of the Red and Assiniboine rivers. From the former river the Colony was called the Red River Settlement; from the latter the district received the name "The District of Assiniboia." With the advent of the Red River Settlers a new day dawned for the Frontier. Church life was now possible in the West.

On the first ship bringing settlers to the Bay was a Roman Catholic priest. He proved the source of constant vexations and returned without venturing into the interior. The majority of those who came were Presbyterians, and Gaelic as well. One of the allurements that had enticed them from the old home to found a new community in this Western Frontier was the prospect of enjoying the services of a minister of religion of their own persuasion. At an annual salary of fifty pounds Lord Selkirk engaged a Mr. Sage, son of the

5. Ibid., 73.

minister at Kildonan, eminently suited in all other respects save that his acquaintance with Gaelic was not yet complete. To make good this deficiency Mr. Sage remained in Scotland for one year.[6] Till he should arrive, James Sutherland, a worthy elder of the Presbyterian Church, was authorized to baptize and to marry.[7] Mr. Sage, however, never came, nor in spite of frequent promises and weary waiting, was a Presbyterian minister destined to reach the Frontier for four decades. But Mr. Sutherland was a man of superior endowments. Alexander Ross wrote,—"By his arrival with the Scotch emigrants in Hudson's Bay, the gospel was planted in Red River. It was the sunrise of Christianity in this benighted country." [8] When Selkirk visited the discouraged and the disheartened settlers to restore order after the colony had been broken up by the North West Company the colonists clamoured for a minister. A public meeting was called on the west bank of the Red River. "Here," said Selkirk, pointing to lot number four on Peter Fidler's survey, "here you shall build your church and that lot, number three, is for a school." He promised to send the Presbyterian minister so eagerly desired. The settlers thereupon erected a temporary building to serve for prayer meeting and school; they named the parish Kildonan after the Sutherland parish from which they had come, and to which in those early days of terrible suffering and vicissitudes their thoughts so frequently returned.

6. Roman Catholics.

(a) On the Prairies.

But Lord Selkirk had a care also for the Roman Catholic colonists taken out by him and for the French halfbreeds of Red River. At the time this Western Frontier was under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Bishop of Quebec. For over sixty years there had been no priest in the West. The Roman

6. George Bryce, John Black, the Apostle of the Red River, 48.
7. Alexander Ross, The Red River Settlement, 31.
8. Alexander Ross, The Red River Settlement, 31.

Catholic rite had been employed for baptisms and perhaps even for marriages by Captain Miles Macdonell, who evinced little taste for these ecclesiastical duties. But now, at Lord Selkirk's request, the Bishop of Quebec sent out two missionaries. It was on July 16, 1818, that they arrived, much welcomed and much needed, Abbé Joseph Norbert Provencher and Abbé Joseph Nicolas Sévère Dumoulin. To the former the Bishop of Quebec granted the rank of Vicar General, and to both he gave the charge to learn well the language of the people among whom they laboured, to prepare grammars and dictionaries, to regularize the marriages of French Canadians with the women of the country, to preach the Word of God and to see that His law was observed, the youth of the land educated and schools established. Faithfully these two pioneers laboured at Pembina and St. Boniface. The latter name they gave to their mission at the Forks in honour of the national saint of Germany and out of compliment to the De Meurons, a group of German, Swiss and Piedmontese settlers, employed by Britain in the Napoleonic Wars, disbanded at Montreal and invited by Lord Selkirk to the Red River.[9]. Missionary journeys were not infrequent, to the Qu'Appelle, to the Souris, and at least once to Hudson Bay. Assistance was badly needed to overtake the work. For this reason the arrival of Father Destroismaisons was highly encouraging, and the departure of Dumoulin a severe blow. On May 12, 1822, Provencher was consecrated Bishop of Juliopolis and Coadjutor of the Bishop of Quebec for the North West. The new bishop was enthusiastically received in his new diocese on August 7, 1822, and the work grew apace. By July 16, 1823, after five years' service in the West, the clergy had to their credit 800 baptisms, 120 marriages, and 150 first communions.

Nor was education neglected. The Roman Catholics claim the honour of establishing the first elementary school in

9. George Bryce, John Black, the Apostle of the Red River, 57.

what is now Manitoba, 1818; the first College, St. Boniface, 1822; and the first girls' school, 1829.

The Frontier had difficulty in retaining the services of its workers. In 1827 Father Destroismaisons, who had not the gift of facile utterance and whose success as a missionary was not conspicuous, returned to Canada by canoe with Captain (later Sir) John Franklin. To Canada the Bishop looked for reinforcements for the Frontier, but to Canada those reinforcements proved only too prone to return. Father Boucher, who succeeded Father Destroismaisons in 1827, returned in 1833; Father Harper in 1832; Father Poiré, who came out in 1833, returned in 1838. But meanwhile the work was extending. The Bishop himself was interested in temporal affairs no less than in spiritual; he sat in the Council of Assiniboia by invitation in 1835, and as Councillor from 1837; he attempted to introduce fruit trees, to improve wheat culture and spinning; and to his more spiritual duties he added the distribution of strychnine for the destruction of wolves. By 1830 there were three chief stations,—St. Boniface with its little oak cathedral built in 1820, Pembina, and St. François Xavier on White Horse Plain. In 1833 were laid the foundations of a new St. Boniface with "turrets twain," immortalized by the poet Whittier. Then before 1840 came the opening of Indian missions at St. Paul, Wabassimong, Rainy Lake and La Baie aux Canards on Lake Winnipegosis, each with its large cross, and associated with these the incipient rivalry of Wesleyan and Anglican missionaries.

With the Forties was inaugurated a vigorous missionary enterprise. In 1841 Chief Factor John Rowand of Fort Edmonton represented that the Wesleyan missionary, Rev. Robert T. Rundle, had made no progress, and that the Indians insisted upon having "true praying fathers." For this post Father Thibault left Red River April 20, 1842. He returned that same autumn having baptized 353 children,

solemnized 20 marriages and admitted four candidates to first communion. In great joy Bishop Provencher wrote off to the Bishop of Quebec,—"All the halfbreeds and most of the Indians have forsaken the Methodist ministers to listen to the Catholic priest." Next year Father Thibault was at Fort Pitt and at the foot of the Rockies. In 1844 the Roman Catholic mission post was established not at Fort Edmonton, but at Ste. Anne, 45 miles west. In 1844 by a Bull of the Pope the Bishop's district was detached from that of the Archbishop of Quebec. He now became Bishop of the Northwest. The Frontier of the Prairies had become independent in jurisdiction. But for its workers it was still dependent on the East. The priests seldom remained longer on the Frontier than four or five years. They found it difficult to live out the spirit of the words of Bishop Plessis, uttered in 1823: "I have finished my task, you say? Our task will be finished only when we have devoted our whole life to the salvation of souls." Something had to be done. The secular clergy had failed. Nothing came of a request for help addressed to the Jesuits. At a critical moment in the history of the Frontier came the Oblates. On August 25, 1845, arrived the vanguard of that Religious Order which was to do so much for the extension of the Roman Catholic Church in the West,—Father Pierre Aubert and a young man scarcely into his Twenties. "What!" exclaimed Bishop Provencher, "I asked for men, and here they have sent me a boy." That "boy" was Alexander Antonin Taché, then only a novice and sub-deacon, soon to show himself a man, and destined, as the Bishop's successor, to leave as large a mark on the history of the church on the new Western Frontier as had his ancestor M. de la Vérendrye upon the exploration of these same plains. For the next sixteen years not a single secular priest came to the Frontier.

On June 24, 1850, Father Taché at 27 years of age was nominated Bishop of Ardath *in partibus infidelium*, and

Coadjutor of Bishop Provencher with right of succession. He was consecrated November 3, 1851. At Rome he secured the change of Bishop Provencher's title to that of Bishop of St. Boniface. The three desires of Bishop Provencher's life were now accomplished,—he had a coadjutor with right of succession; he had religious sisters to oversee the education of the youth; he had a Religious Order in the ranks of his clergy to assure the perpetuity of his missions. He died happily June 7, 1853. Bishop Taché was now Bishop of St. Boniface and the Roman Catholic Church was firmly established in the West. By 1869 there were between Lake Superior and the Rocky Mountains four Bishops, Taché, Grandin, Faraud and Clut, all Oblates, as many secular priests, 30 Oblate missionaries, about 30 lay brothers and seven establishments of Grey Sisters. Before the transfer of the Prairie Frontier to the Dominion of Canada took place with the accompanying Red River troubles the Roman Catholic Church was already securely established and fully organized as a self-governing religious body on the Western Plains.

(b) On the Pacific Coast.

In the meantime on the Pacific Coast Frontier Father Modeste Demers had arrived in August, 1841, at Fort Langley on the lower Fraser.[10] He succeeded in doing a notable work among the children. In 1842 he made a comprehensive visitation of the northern posts of the Hudson's Bay Company. Other pioneer workers on this Pacific Frontier were Father de Smet among the Kootenay and Okanagan Indians, Father Bolduc on the present site of Victoria, Father Nobili up as far as Lake Babine and among the Chilcotins. On November 30, 1847, Father Demers was consecrated Bishop of Vancouver Island and made a Suffragan to the Archbishop of Oregon City. Following the example of Bishop Provencher he appealed to the Oblates for assistance. In

10. A. G. Morice, The Roman Catholic Church in the West, in Shortt and Doughty, Canada and its Provinces, XI, 144.

1857 they established their first station at Esquimault. In 1859 the Bishop also brought to the coast the Sisters of St. Anne who established a school at Victoria. Fathers Pandosy and Richard established the first mission attempted on the mainland. In 1859 Fathers Durieu and Fouquet began work among the Indians on the island. In 1860 Father Fouquet founded St. Charles Mission at what is now New Westminster and in the following year St. Mary's Mission, 35 miles up the Fraser. In 1861 Father Grandidier established a mission at Fort Hope. On December 20, 1863, Father d'Herbomez became Bishop of Miletopolis and Vicar-apostolic of British Columbia and the Queen Charlotte Islands. He was consecrated October 9, 1864. As a result of the formation of this new bishopric the Oblates began to devote themselves more and more to work on the mainland. Thus by 1864, seven years before the Pacific province was incorporated in the Dominion, there were two Bishops in British Columbia,—Demers and d'Herbomez.

The Roman Catholic Church of the Western Frontier had reached its majority when Western Canada entered the stream of Canadian life and history.

7. Church of England.

(a) On the Prairies.

We have already stated that the Presbyterians were impatient to receive a minister of their own communion. Selkirk's promises were not implemented. The settlers resorted to letters and petitions. They wrote to Rev. John McDonald, minister of the parish of Urquhart, Ross-shire, to secure them a Presbyterian minister. The letter evidently went astray, for no acknowledgment was ever received. Their appeal to Governor Alexander McDonell was equally fruitless. He replied that the Scotch should live as he himself did,—without a church at all.

And then in October, 1820, a minister arrived on the

Frontier,—but of the Church of England. This was Rev. John West. M.A. His appearance was the occasion of discord. This could scarcely have been otherwise in a pioneer settlement where the inhabitants were practically all either Roman Catholic or Presbyterian. But as the District of Assiniboia was a Frontier of Britain, so its religious life was to be regarded as within the Frontier of the Church of England. The expressed desires of the Frontier were overridden. And the Rev. John West did not have the Gaelic. He would not discontinue the Anglican ritual. And to those Scotch Presbyterians the former was essential, and the latter an abomination. His services were not welcomed at the settlement. The Colonists blamed John Pritchard, who acted for Selkirk's heirs, for having sent a minister of his own church. Rather than remain inactive Mr. West became Chaplain to the Hudson's Bay Company and visited the Indians for the Church Missionary Society. He had a log house three miles below the Fort prepared for a school house. On September 2, 1821, he established an auxiliary Bible Society for Prince Rupert's Land and the Red River Settlement. Finding it hopeless to overcome the prejudices of the Scotch settlers against the Anglican liturgy, he left the Colony on June 10, 1823.[11]

This struggle against the Anglican liturgy was to persist for years. Its influence was seen in the modified church service that continued till the coming of Bishop Machray in 1865. After the reading of a selection of prayers from the prayer book there was practically a full Presbyterian service, the whole constituting, according to Bishop Machray, who put an end to it, a "medley which could never win the Presbyterians to the liturgy of the Church of England so attractive when worthily and faithfully expressed."[12] Down to 1851 the Presbyterians constituted not the least important element

11. John West,—The Substance of a Journal during a Residence at the Red River Colony, British North America, 1824.
12. Robert Machray, Life of Archbishop Machray, 123.

of St. John's. This church was built by Rev. D. T. Jones who arrived in 1823. In 1824 he founded St. Paul's. Mr. Jones was Chaplain to the Company and a member of the Council of Assiniboia. He did not continue the work among the Indians begun by his predecessor. His relations with the Scotch were not helped by certain strictures on them written for the Missionary Register of December, 1827,—"I lament to say that there is an unchristian-like selfishness and narrowness of mind in our Scottish population." After a few years in the settlement he gained for himself much goodwill by abandoning the prayer book at prayer meetings, and by omitting certain portions of the liturgy that offended the Presbyterians. "I know that I am doing good," he declared, "and as long as I can do good to souls, the technical form of this or that Church will not prevent me." He had learned the spirit, the only spirit, that wins the Frontier.

It would seem that each new arrival must learn afresh the lesson of the Frontier. Under Rev. William Cochran there was a return to the stricter observance of the ritual,—at least till he had "kenned," as the Stuart Kings used to say, "the stomach of that people." "I will preach to them," he explained, when he reached the Frontier, "the truths of the gospel, and they must listen to me; they have nothing to do with our forms; I will not allow them an inch of their own will." Partly because of his moral earnestness, partly because he actually did relax, he became greatly beloved. He became Councillor of Assiniboia, was interested in educational matters, and was the first Protestant clergyman on the Western Frontier to undertake anything like aggressive missionary work among the Indians. He not only christianized the Indians, he also civilized them. After some thirty months of incessant labour among them he wrote of "twenty-three little whitewashed cottages shining through the trees, each with its column of smoke curling up to the skies, and each with its stacks of wheat and barley . . . . . It is but a

speck in the wilderness, and the stranger might despise it, but we who know the difficulties that have attended the work can truly say that God has done great things, were it only that these sheaves of corn have been raised by hands that hitherto had only been exercised in deeds of blood and cruelty to man and beast."[13] In 1827 he founded St. Andrew's; in 1836, St. Peter's; and in 1854, a mission at Portage la Prairie. In 1855 Bishop Anderson appointed him Archdeacon of Assiniboia. Captain Palliser declared that he was competent not only to teach school and to preach fine sermons, but also to teach his disciples to wield an axe and drive a plow. The Frontier had found in him an apt pupil.

Among other Church of England clergymen were Rev. John Smithurst, who came to the Red River in 1839 and Rev. John Macallum, M.A. Both became Councillors of Assiniboia. The latter was given charge of the Upper Parish of St. John's. Under his direction Red River Academy, founded by Rev. John West, and later St. John's College, rose to importance.

With the erection of the diocese of Rupert's Land, and the consecration of Rev. David Anderson as Bishop in 1849 the Church of England was fairly planted on the Western Frontier.[14] The Council of Assiniboia, alive to the interests of the Settlement, made the arrival of the bishop the occasion for an agitation for increased postal facilities.[15]

When Bishop Anderson retired in 1864 he had more than twenty clergy under him. "Missions had been planted," writes Machray, "in the far north at Fort Yukon; on the Mackenzie River at Fort Simpson; at York Factory and Albany, as well as Moose on the shores of Hudson Bay; and at various points in the interior, Fort Alexander, Nepowewin, Fort Ellice, Swan Lake, and English River, besides Cumberland and Fairford. The rest of the clergy acted as

13. Robert Machray, Life of Archbishop Machray, 115-116.
14. L. Norman Tucker, Western Canada, p. 36 in Handbooks of English Church Expansion.
15. E. H. Oliver, The Canadian North-West, i, 356.

parish priests in the Red River Settlement. All of them, whether parish priests or missionaries, were supported by the English Church Societies; the C. M. S. maintained no fewer than seventeen, while the S. P. G. found stipends for two, and the C. C. C. S. also paid the stipends of two. The people of the country did little or nothing—practically nothing—for the maintenance of their clergy, but no persistent and systematic effort had been made to get the settlers to contribute towards it."[16]

The work in Rupert's Land was a Frontier work. From 1820 to 1849 it was carried on under the direction of the Church Missionary Society. An attempt had been made to bring the Western Frontier under the spiritual supervision of the Bishops of Canada, and in 1844 Bishop Mountain of Quebec actually made an episcopal visitation to the Red River.[17] But oversight at so long a range proved a practical impossibility. Then in 1849, as we have seen, Bishop Anderson was made Bishop of Rupert's Land. To that work he devoted fifteen years. When he retired in 1864, the Church of England had been at work for 44 years on the Western Frontier. What had been achieved? As we have noted, the Church was fairly established. But it was far from self-supporting. To repeat Machray's phrase, "The people of the country did little or nothing—practically nothing—for the maintenance of their clergy."

Rev. Robert Machray, D.D., was consecrated Bishop of Rupert's Land on June 24, 1865. On the day following his consecration he performed his first episcopal act in ordaining to the priesthood Rev. William Carpenter Bompas, destined in 1874 to be consecrated Bishop of Athabaska, one of the first Dioceses to be carved out of the Diocese of Rupert's Land.[18]

On his arrival Bishop Machray took in hand the organization of the parishes in the settlement. By introducing the

16. Robert Machray, The Life of Archbishop Machray, 119.
17. L. Norman Tucker, Western Canada, 47-48.
18. H. A. Cody, An Apostle of the North.

offertory at each service he began to train them for self-support. But he recognized that self-support involved self-government. To this end he planned a Conference, later to become the Synod, in which were present the clergy and representatives of the laity of the Diocese. He undertook to revive St. John's College, for he was convinced that the Church in Rupert's Land must educate its own clergy. Within six weeks of his coming he planned his first visitation into the Interior. He set forth on January 11, 1866. "We slept," he told his first Conference, "during seventeen nights by the camp fire in the open air. But the perfect comfort of this, when proper arrangements are made, although the thermometer may be lower than 40 degrees below zero, is surprising to a traveller who first experiences it. At other times we slept in an old deserted log-house or an Indian tent. The solitariness of the interior must be felt to be realized. During the whole journey we scarcely saw a dozen Indians in all, excepting those we met with in the immediate neighbourhood of a fort or mission station."[19]

The first Conference met on May 30, 1866,—the first step, the Bishop hoped, to a Synod. Synods, though unknown in England, were in existence both in Canada and the United States and enabled the laity to have a voice in the affairs of the church. Such was Bishop Machray's purpose for Rupert's Land. Self-support implied self-government. He desired the congregations of the Diocese to become self-supporting. To assist towards self-rule he established two Archdeaconries, —Assiniboia for the Red River Settlement and some out-missions; Cumberland for the missions embraced in his recent visitation of the Interior. He appointed Rev. John M'Lean Archdeacon of Assiniboia and Warden of St. John's College.

In due course Bishop Machray secured the approval of the Archbishop of Canterbury, of Bishop Anderson, of the C. M. S. and the other Missionary Societies for the constitution of his proposed Synod of Rupert's Land. The first

19. Robert Machray, The Life of Archbishop Machray, 129.

Synod of the Diocese of Rupert's Land met on February 24, 1869. The Church of England on the Western Frontier between the Great Lakes and the Rockies had become self-governing. This was a significant step towards self-support, taken in the last year of the separate existence of the Red River Settlement. "Nothing is wanting to make this a great and prosperous country," he told his first Synod, "but a sufficient population and easy access to the outer world." These blessings were to come with the transfer of the country to Canada in the following year. For over a third of a century Bishop Machray was to be spared to guide the destinies of Rupert's Land as a Canadian Diocese. In 1904 he died as Primate of All Canada.

(b) On the Pacific Coast.

In the meantime the Church of England had been establishing its work on the Frontier of the Pacific Coast. The country had been leased to the Hudson's Bay Company in 1843, but had become a Crown Colony in 1849. The first Anglican missionary was Rev. C. H. Cridge, sent out as Chaplain to the Company's post at Victoria. In 1859 Rev. George Hills was consecrated first Bishop. The endowment was provided by Baroness Burdett Coutts. In 1860 was established Holy Trinity, New Westminster, the first church on the mainland.[20] About the same time occurred the gold rush. To provide for the religious needs of the increasing population churches were built at Hope, Saanich, Nanaimo. In the north William Duncan began work in 1858 at the mouth of the Skeena. In 1866 a church was built at Esquimault for the sailors of the North Pacific squadron. When British Columbia entered Confederation in 1871 it had still but one Bishop and a diocesan Synod had not yet been organized. Moreover the Church of England had made but little progress towards self-support. The Anglican Church of the Pacific coast was still a Frontier Church.

20. D. Wallace Duthie, A Bishop in the Rough, Ch. ii.

8. Methodists.

(a) On the Prairies.

The beginnings of Wesleyan work on the Western Frontier date from 1840. The mission was inaugurated by the British Wesleyan Missionary Committee. Rev. James Evans, who had rendered brilliant service with translations, vocabularies and evangelistic work on the St. Clair and Lake Superior Indian missions in Upper Canada, was placed in charge.[21] The *Wesleyan Magazine*, March, 1840, contained references to his associates in the mission:—

> "The Rev. Messrs. G. Barnley, W. Mason and R. T. Rundle, embarked at Liverpool, by the *Sheridan* for New York, on the 16th of March, on their way to the Territory of the Honourable Hudson's Bay Company, to commence missionary operations among the settlers and native tribes of that vast region of North America, under the protection, and chiefly at the expense, of the Company, whose proposals to the Society have been of the most liberal and honorable character." [22]

Rev. James Evans relinquished his claims on the funds of the Canada Conference and requested a certificate of standing and a recommendation to the British Conference.[23] The foundations of Wesleyan work on the Western Frontier were laid by British, not by Canadian Wesleyanism. But after the reunion of Canadian and British Wesleyans in 1847 a new interest was awakened throughout Upper Canada in the missions of the Western Frontier. In 1851 they were placed under the supervision of Rev. Enoch Wood, Superintendent of Missions for both the British Missionary Society and the Canadian Conference. In 1853 they were transferred to the entire care of the Canadian Conference, owing to "the comparative nearness of the Hudson Bay to Canada."

In 1840 Norway House was a great centre on which the

21. John Carroll, Case and his Cotemporaries, IV, 75, 214, 274.
22. Ibid., IV. 275.
23. Ibid., IV. 276-277.

canoe routes of the Western Frontier converged. Evans wrote of his satisfaction at being appointed to this strategic station:—

> "This is a good remove from Moose Factory on Hudson's Bay, as it will be warmer and more comforts, besides the Academy at Red River. Providence orders all things well."[24]

His goods had to be sent to Norway House via London:—

> "I shall get to Fort William without getting into a canoe. Our goods are gone to London, England, to be sent to Hudson's Bay, where they will arrive this fall. The Hudson's Bay Company have engaged to furnish our missionaries with everything necessary for their comfort and convenience in the Indian country, including canoes, provisions, canal-men, houses, interpreters—free of all charges; and we have letters from Gov. Simpson and the Committee addressed to all the gentlemen in their districts and posts in North America—a pretty wide range. I shall see the Pacific yet, God willing, as one of the young men goes to Rocky Mountain House, and my duty is to visit them as soon as possible." [25]

Two Indian youths accompanied Evans from Canada,—Peter Jacobs and Henry Steinhauer.[26]

The disposition of the Wesleyan workers was as follows,—James Evans at Norway House as General Superintendent; William Mason at Rainy Lake and Fort Alexander; Robert Terrill Rundle at Fort Edmonton and Rocky Mountain House; George Barnley at Moose Factory and Abitibi.[27]

At Norway House Evans founded the mission of Rossville and erected a church, parsonage and school. He travelled far and wide to Indian camps and Company's posts. His greatest achievement was to make "birch-bark talk."

24. Ibid., IV. 276.
25. Ibid., IV. 277.
26. Ibid., IV. 278.
27. John Maclean, Vanguards of Canada; Mrs. F. C. Stephenson, One Hundred Years of Canadian Methodist Missions; Lorne Pierce, James Evans; Alexander Sutherland, The Methodist Church and Missions.

He invented a simple, but complete, syllabic system for the Indian languages. He reduced the Cree language to an alphabet of eight consonants and four vowels which it was possible to write with nine characters in four positions. Within a few days an Indian could be taught to read his own language. Evans made his first books on strips of birch-bark with ink made of soot. He made type out of the lead used in tea chests. With an old press used for packing pelts he printed one hundred small hymn books and five thousand pages in the Indian language used in that region. The Hudson's Bay Company permitted him to import press and type from England to be used exclusively for missionary work.[28] Evans organized a corps of translators and printers, which included William Mason and Henry B. Steinhauer. This work which he inaugurated was carried forward by other hands till in 1861 the Cree Bible was published by the British and Foreign Bible Society. Evans himself died a victim of grief and anxiety. Differences arose between him and the Company's officers over the use of intoxicating liquors and the observance of the Sabbath. His character was unjustly attacked. Then in a tragic accident his gun was discharged and killed his comrade Thomas Hassell, one of his associates in the work of translating and printing the Scriptures. He died not far from his birth-place at Keilby, Lincolnshire, November 23, 1846, after addressing a missionary congregation. "Thus," wrote John Carroll, "passed away . . . . the man of genius, the enterprising explorer, the devoted missionary, and the humble Christian."[29]

Rev. R. T. Rundle arrived at Fort Edmonton on September 18, 1840, the first permanent missionary to locate in what is now Alberta. His eight strenuous years of service left an abiding impression on the Indian life and mission enterprise of the far western Prairies. He held schools in the post at Fort Edmonton and in the lodges of the Indians

28. Lorne Pierce, James Evans, 28.
29. John Carroll, Case and his Cotemporaries, IV. 278.

and preached incessantly. With his continuous journeying he covered the northern half of Alberta till ill-health forced him to resign. Years afterwards Steinhauer overheard a prayer in an Indian encampment,—"Lord, send us another missionary like Rundle!" In the Canadian Rockies, near Banff, rises Mount Rundle, fitting memorial of a great missionary of the Western Frontier.

William Mason laboured four years at Rainy Lake and then became Evans' assistant at Norway House. On the death of his chief he was placed in charge. There he remained for ten years till he joined the Church of England. As Evans had died and Barnley and Rundle had removed, the departure of Mason left the Wesleyan missions without a single European worker, and on the verge of extinction. Help, however, came from Canada.

In 1854 the Canadian Conference, to which the Hudson Bay and Rocky Mountains District had recently been transferred, stationed the following as "ambassadors sent unto the heathen,"—Norway House, Thomas Hurlburt, Chairman of the District; Oxford House, Robert Brooking; Lac La Pluie or Rainy Lake, Allen Salt; Edmonton and Rocky Mountains, Henry B. Steinhauer.[30] Rev. John Ryerson was sent out with the party as guide. To each of the Wesleyan Missions in the Territory the Hudson's Bay Company made an annual grant of $200. In 1855 Thomas Woolsey took up the work laid down at Fort Edmonton by his brother-in-law, Rundle, in 1847. After two years at Lac la Biche, Steinhauer devoted the rest of his life to Whitefish Lake.[31] In 1857 Robert Brooking replaced Thomas Hurlburt at Norway House, and in 1860 was himself relieved by George McDougall. In 1862 McDougall visited the Edmonton country with his son John.[32] The following year he returned and established a mission at Victoria. Thus began among the Indians of the far western Prairies the fruitful service of the

30. Ibid., V. 214.
31. John Maclean, Vanguards of Canada, 85.
32. John Maclean, McDougall of Alberta.

McDougalls, father and son, which has forever linked their names with mission work in Alberta. But McDougall was not content merely to labour himself on the Frontier; he must challenge others to give themselves to building up the Kingdom on the Plains. In 1868 he was in Ontario arousing the Wesleyans to an appreciation of the needs and opportunities of the Prairies. He was successful in his appeal. For work among the Indians Egerton R. Young came to Norway House, Peter Campbell to the half-breeds and Indians of the Saskatchewan, and the two Snyder brothers as teachers in Indian schools. Hitherto all Wesleyan mission work on the Prairies had been among the aboriginal inhabitants. But in 1868 a new departure was inaugurated. George Young of Toronto came to found a mission for the white settlers at Fort Garry and neighbourhood. With his arrival the Methodist cause was permanently planted on the Western Frontier. This fact was duly noted by the Government of the Red River Settlement. For on November 7, 1868, the Council of Assiniboia unanimously resolved "that any legally ordained Wesleyan minister labouring in the Settlement may validly solemnize marriage in the District of Assiniboia and that all registers of marriages, baptisms and burials kept by any legally ordained Wesleyan minister shall be deemed legal and valid records." [33]

(b) On the Pacific Coast.

The beginnings of Methodism on the Pacific Frontier followed closely upon the discovery, in 1858, of gold in the bed of the Fraser and in the Caribou district. In the summer of 1858 over 30,000 prospectors and miners poured into the country. Yale, Hell Bar Camp, and all the Fraser up to the Forks were soon alive with the newcomers. As a result of this inrush the British Government established the mainland as a separate colony under the name British Columbia and the Churches bestirred themselves to occupy this new Frontier. The Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada called for volun-

33. E. H. Oliver, The Canadian North-West, i, 595.

teers. Of the dozen who responded, four were chosen to evangelize the prospectors and settlers,—Ephraim Evans, Edward White, Ebenezer Robson, and Arthur Browning. Work was begun at Victoria and Nanaimo on Vancouver Island and at New Westminster and Hope on the Fraser River. On the Prairies the Wesleyans began work first among the Indians, later among the whites. In British Columbia the order was reversed. White work was the main interest, but, whenever an opportunity presented itself, Indian work was also taken in hand. Thus when Robson began work among the miners at Hope and Yale he also opened a school for the Flathead Indians and, when he sought to evangelize the white workers at Nanaimo, he built a school and chapel for the Indians in that neighbourhood. Thus Wesleyan Indian work in British Columbia began as an incident to regular white work. Schools among the Indians proved fruitful. In 1858 William Duncan opened up a school at Port Simpson and had the joy of having for a pupil William Henry Pierce. In 1862 arrived Thomas Crosby who in 1863 began work as a teacher at Nanaimo before he became a probationer in 1868. In 1869 Crosby built the first Protestant church in the Chilliwack valley. Before British Columbia entered Confederation in 1871 the Wesleyan work was securely inaugurated on the Pacific Frontier. The Conference minutes of 1870 give no returns for Indian work except to report Thomas Crosby as working among them as a probationer. But they show a total membership of 252 in the white work with three ordained ministers,—Amos Russ at Victoria, Edward White at Nanaimo and Thomas Derrick at Cariboo.[34]

9. Presbyterians.

(a) On the Prairies.

We have already seen the failure of the Presbyterians of the Red River Settlement to secure a minister of their own communion. Appeals to the Church of Scotland and to the

34. Mrs. F. C. Stephenson, One Hundred Years of Canadian Methodist Missions, 157.

Free Church fell on seemingly deaf ears. Finally an urgent request for assistance was forwarded to the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada. To Rev. Dr. Robert Burns, minister of Knox Church, Toronto, is due the credit of lending a sympathetic ear to this call from the Red River Frontier. To Chief Factor Ballenden, of the Hudson's Bay Company, who had offered free transportation, Dr. Burns wrote on May 8, 1851, that a "missionary of approved character was prepared to embark by the caravans from St. Anthony's Falls about the beginning of July next." [35] On July 2, 1851, Dr. Burns, however, was forced to write announcing failure to secure the missionary:—"We are perplexed somewhat about the Red River case. Mr. McK. wishes to go, but his people oppose. I rather think, however, that we will send him. I have got from a traveller here (Paul Kane), who was guide to Sir J. Richardson over the Rocky Mountains, the fullest information as to the case. There are 2,000 Highlanders still, and many Indians and half-breeds besides, among whom a missionary would labour. We asked J. Black, but he refuses." Within a few days, however, John Black gave his consent, and in a solemn service on July 31st he was ordained in Knox Church, Toronto. The following day he set forth for his new labours, going by way of Chicago and St. Paul. Seven years later, when inviting Dr. Burns to visit the Red River, he wrote:—"As far as Crow Wing, you could come easily and comfortably, but after that, the road leads through a perfect wilderness—woods and swamps, creeks, rivers, etc., requiring much toil and exposing to some dangers, besides the discomforts of sleeping in a tent and living in a way to which you are not accustomed."[36] A deputation of Presbyterians from the Red River had gone to the capital of Minnesota to meet him and to cheer him with the news that his congregation had secured a lot and had commenced the building of a church and manse and made plans for the

35. R. F. Burns, Life and Times of Rev. Robert Burns, D.D., 275.
36. Ibid., 277.

opening of a school. After waiting for him the deputation returned with the news "No minister!" But Rev. John Black, who had been delayed by his ordination, undaunted by their departure, pushed forward with Governor Ramsay of Minnesota, who was travelling with a mounted escort. He arrived at the Red River on September 19, 1851, and was welcomed with tears of joy by the Highlanders of the Prairie Frontier. Though the Presbyterians had waited for forty years for the coming of a minister of their own and had protested at the use of the Anglican liturgy, on the Sunday following his arrival John Black with his Presbyterians went to service at the Anglican Church of St. John's. On Sunday, September 28, 1851, three hundred of the Selkirk settlers assembled at the manse at Kildonan and heard John Black preach the first sermon delivered by a Presbyterian minister on the Western Frontier between the Great Lakes and the Pacific Ocean.[37] "The greatest occasion ever known in Kildonan was the day when we had our own church and minister again," declared a settler who had waited long for Presbyterian ministrations in Red River.

John Black had received his instructions from Dr. Burns:—"You are called at an early period of life to a most important duty, and on the manner in which you shall discharge it will depend, under God, the position which we as a Church may be called upon to occupy in regard to the progress of Christ's Kingdom in these western regions. You will find in Bishop Anderson a pious and liberal Episcopalian and a Bishop—yea, *The Bishop!* You know what I mean. Already you know something of Popery and its steps, open or close. The Sabbath observance subject I commend to your serious notice. The Company like hunting on the Lord's day! The range is wide and long; but, if you can get from the United States boundary to York Fort, it will be desirable. Your object being exploratory, keep note of all. Preach and exhort and expound, and conduct devotional exercises where-

37. George Bryce, John Black, the Apostle of the Red River, 52.

ever you have an opportunity—Sabbath days especially."[38] Rev. John Black won the hearts of his congregation and became a useful citizen of the Frontier Settlement. When in 1853 there was a fear that he might withdraw Sir George Simpson, Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, wrote to the Synod a letter urging that he be not transferred, and offering, on behalf of the Company, to add to his stipend the sum of £50 yearly.[39] For eleven years John Black was the only Presbyterian minister of the Prairies. For more than thirty years he ministered to the spiritual needs of the people of Kildonan. He died February 11, 1882, the Apostle of the Red River.

The honour that attaches to laying the foundations of the Presbyterian church in what is now the Province of Saskatchewan and the distinction of making the first attempt at agriculture between Cumberland and Edmonton belong to Rev. James Nisbet. Rev. John Black soon found that the work of giving the Gospel to the natives was not being overtaken. Again and again he drew the attention of the Synod to the importance of this task. Year after year, from 1857, the Synod endorsed the proposal to set aside someone for the work of evangelizing the Indians of the Western Prairies. The first step was taken in 1862. Rev. James Nisbet, a class-mate of John Black's in the first session of Knox College, Toronto, was induced to give up his congregation at Oakville to become Black's assistant. His practical abilities and his evangelical zeal well fitted him for his important mission. For three years the two co-labourers toiled at Kildonan, Little Britain, Headingly and Fort Garry. Nisbet made progress in learning the Indian language. Then in 1865 John Black recommended him to the Synod for work among the Cree Indians on the Saskatchewan.

In the summer of 1866 Nisbet went to his new post on the Saskatchewan, to which, in honour of the late Consort of Queen Victoria, he gave the name of Prince Albert. He

38. Ibid., 32.
39. R. F. Burns, The Life and Times of Rev. Robert Burns, D.D., 278.

arrived August 6, 1866. He has given an account of his journey,—"All our goods were carried in carts; each cart was drawn by one ox, harnessed something like a horse. Mrs. Nisbet and our little girl and a young woman rode on a light waggon with a canvas top, such as you sometimes use in Canada. For myself, I was generally on horseback, but frequently walking, as the oxen do not go very fast. We had tents such as soldiers use, which we pitched every night, and in them we were generally very comfortable. The Sabbaths were delightful to us. Both men and animals were prepared for the weekly rest. It was pleasant to see the poor oxen evidently enjoying the rich pasturage of the wilderness and the rest they had from their daily toil. We had regular Sabbath services, and they were very devout."

"We had a good many creeks and rivers to cross, and I dare say you would have been much amused, had you seen the plans that were fallen upon for crossing such as were too deep for loaded carts. Few of my friends in the East have seen a boat made with two cart wheels tied together and an oil cloth spread over them, or one made of ox-hides sewed together and stretched on a rough frame, that would take two carts and their loads at a time. Such were the contrivances for getting over streams where there are no bridges or large boats by which we could cross. We passed over a great deal of beautiful country, with hills and valleys, streams, lakes and ponds. Hundreds of ducks were swimming about in the little lakes and sometimes they furnished dinners for us. Sandhill cranes were also seen occasionally, and a few of them were shot for our Sabbath dinners. Forty days after we left our Red River homes we got to a place called Carlton House, on the north branch of the great Saskatchewan River, and there we camped for one week, while I went to see some places that I could fix upon for our future home."[40]

At Carlton George Flett of Edmonton, brother-in-law of

40. George Bryce, John Black, the Apostle of the Red River, 97.

Rev. John Black, met Nisbet and rendered notable assistance in locating the site for the mission. At that time the Indian treaties had not been made to cover the land in question. The Indians were averse to the establishment of a mission enterprise so close to the forks of the Saskatchewan. It was George Flett who smoothed out these difficulties. He was himself of Cree origin on his mother's side. He claimed his ancestral portion and surrendered it to the Presbyterian Church. This arrangement the Crees immediately accepted. Immediately upon his arrival Nisbet opened a school. He also established an industrial farm for the support of the mission and to serve as a training school for the Indians. He had two preaching places,—the Prince Albert Mission and Carlton House. Up to the winter of 1871-1872 Cree was used in each service.

The Rev. James Nisbet not only pioneered the agricultural industry and established the first school in the central Prairies, he also founded the city of Prince Albert and planted the Presbyterian Church in Saskatchewan. In 1874 he fell, with his wife, crushed with the burden and the strain of pioneering on the Western Frontier.

In 1870 the Prairies were transferred to the Dominion of Canada. It was a notable year for Presbyterianism on the Western Frontier. In that year the Presbytery of Manitoba was erected, Manitoba College founded, a campaign for Home Missions organized, and the congregation of Knox Church, Winnipeg, established. The Presbyterianism of the Prairies had become Canadian, although as late as January 3, 1873, the Report on the condition and working of the Prince Albert mission was presented not to the Home, but Foreign, Mission Committee of the Canada Presbyterian Church.

(b) On the Pacific Coast.

British Columbia, no less than the Prairies, was regarded as a foreign field by the Canada Presbyterian Church. The

first Presbyterian worker on that Pacific Frontier, Rev. John Hall, of the Irish Presbyterian Church, began his mission in 1861. In 1862 Rev. Robert Jamieson arrived as missionary of the Canada Presbyterian Church. He carried on a mission at New Westminster, later at Nanaimo. In 1864 he was joined by Rev. Daniel Duff who remained for three years, and in 1869 by Rev. William Aitken whose period of service was of equally short duration. British Columbia was also a sphere for foreign missions for the Church of Scotland. Three missionaries of that Church were Rev. Messrs. Nimmo, Somerville and McGregor. After rendering valuable service to the Frontier all three returned to their native land. The first Presbytery in British Columbia was formed not in connection with Canadian Presbyterianism, but with the Church of Scotland.[41] The religious needs of the distant Pacific Frontier were not adequately appreciated and cared for by the Presbyterians of Canada till after the Canadian Pacific Railway connected the Frontier with the East.

10. Religious Equality.

We have seen that in the East the struggle for religious equality had involved the extension to non-Anglican clergymen of the right to perform the marriage ceremony. On the Western Frontier the governing legislation was the law of England as introduced into Rupert's Land on May 2, 1670. This deemed valid such marriages only as were solemnized by a person in holy orders. This comprised the clergy of every Episcopal Church, but excluded Presbyterian and other ministers. The Council of Rupert's Land found it necessary in 1848 to allow religious teachers in general, and, in case of necessity, certain laymen to celebrate marriages. This legislation, of course, was valid within the District of Assiniboia. Here on June 19, 1844, the Council had passed a resolution authorizing the Governor, upon receipt of twenty shillings, to issue a marriage license to any applicant

41. Shortt and Doughty, Canada and its Provinces, XI, 284.

who declared on oath that neither himself nor his intended wife was already living in lawful wedlock. In consequence of the arrival in the settlement of the Bishop of Rupert's Land, this resolution was cancelled January 2, 1850. The arrival of Rev. John Black soon called forth from the Presbyterians a petition "that all registers of marriage, baptisms and funerals, performed by the Rev. Mr. Black or any other regularly ordained Presbyterian minister settled here be good and valid in law." They also asked that marriage licenses be issued by the Governor as before the arrival of the Bishop of Rupert's Land. These requests were granted on November 27, 1851. Seventeen years later, on November 7, 1868, on the arrival of the Rev. George Young, the same privilege of solemnizing marriages in the District of Assiniboia and of keeping registers of marriages, baptisms and burials was extended to any legally ordained Wesleyan minister. Religious equality was achieved on the Western Frontier before that Frontier became Canadian.

Chapter IX.

Confederation: A Continent-wide Frontier

1. A Continent-Wide Dominion with National Tasks.

We have seen how religious toleration and religious equality were achieved on the Frontier and how the religious life of Canada, as expressed in the leading Churches, had already attained, or was on the eve of attaining, self-government and independence of control from abroad, and, to a considerable extent, even self-support. The efforts of statesmen in the sixties were directed towards forming a continent-wide Dominion. Students have been prone to regard Confederation too exclusively as a linking of Central Canada with the Maritime Provinces. But Confederation was equally an effort to gain for Canada the region west of the Great Lakes and to establish a continent-wide Frontier. The editorials of the *Toronto Globe* advocated this policy in the fifties, and its editor declared in a speech at Belleville in 1858:—"Sir, it is my fervent aspiration and hope that some here tonight may live to see the day when the British American flag shall proudly wave from Labrador to Vancouver, and from our own Niagara to the shores of Hudson Bay."[1] The inclusion of Brown and McDougall in the Coalition Government ensured the incorporation within Confederation of the Hudson's Bay Company's Territories. The West gave Canada national tasks to perform such as the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway and the peopling of the Western Prairies. "In acquiring the North-West," says Trotter, "the new Dominion took over a task which not only gave her more than ample territory for the growth of a great nation, but shouldered her with a profitable burden so great as to call forth genuinely national energies and arouse a proud national consciousness. British Columbia's entrance gave the

1. Reginald George Trotter, Canadian Federation, 253.

Dominion a Pacific frontage and hastened the development of the great North-West lying between the new Province and the settled East." [2] It was not only by steel rails, however, that the West was bound to Eastern Canada. Settlers came, in the first instance, from Ontario and Quebec, and ties of kinship now linked East and West. To meet the religious needs of the new Western Frontiers the small divided Churches, of Presbyterianism and of Methodism for instance, were not adequate. The Churches of Canada, not less than Canada itself, must become national. Already these had shown concern for the religious needs of the Frontier west of the Great Lakes. But to meet the needs of a continent-wide Frontier the Churches, too, felt impelled to federate. So came about the Methodist Unions of 1874 and 1883-84, the Presbyterian Union of 1875 and the formation of the Anglican General Synod. And the appointment of a single papal legate for the Roman Catholic Church in all Canada took place in connection with an issue that had arisen on this same Western Frontier, the Manitoba School Question.

2. Presbyterians.

In the year following Confederation there were in Canada four distinct Presbyterian groups, all themselves the product of unions, viz.—

1. The Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada in connection with the Church of Scotland, the product of the union of 1840;
2. The Synod (after 1870, the General Assembly) of the Canada Presbyterian Church, the product of the union of 1861;
3. The Synod of the Lower Provinces, the product of the union of 1866;
4. The Synod of the Maritime Provinces in connection with the Church of Scotland, the product of the union of 1868.

2. Reginald George Trotter, Canadian Federation, 316.

Two of these groups, the smaller group of Presbyterians both in the Maritime Provinces and in Ontario and Quebec, still retained a nominal connection with the Church of Scotland. Undoubtedly the union of the Provinces at Confederation, and, not least of all, the accession of what is now Western Canada, opened up to Presbyterians of all groups the challenge of a national task on a continent-wide Frontier. Rev. Charles M. Grant, on June 8, 1868, expressed the feelings of many when as delegate to the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada in connection with the Church of Scotland he declared,—"The ideal for which I ought to work is that of a Canadian Presbyterian Church . . . adapted to the conditions of our present life and civilization. Our eyes must be turned not so much to the past of Scotland as to the present and future of Canada." [3] In the same year a lively discussion over the union of all Canadian Presbyterians took place in the pages of the *Presbyterian.* The correspondent declared that union must take place "because the genius of the country and the practical common sense of the people . . . . will compel it." Another pointed out that the Moderator of the Church of Scotland had advised the colonial Churches to unite with other Presbyterian bodies.[4]

By 1870 the movement towards Union took the form of Overtures from Presbyteries to the Supreme Courts of the four Presbyterian Churches. Thus the Presbytery of Chatham overtured the General Assembly of the Canada Presbyterian Church to appoint a Committee on Union to confer with a Committee of the Presbyterian Church of the Lower Provinces. The Overture set forth that the two churches were the same in origin, doctrine and worship and had always maintained a Christian fellowship with each other. It declared that closer relations were desirable.[5] The Synod of Montreal presented a similar Overture asking that this Union be

3. J. T. McNeill, The Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1875-1925, p. 24.
4. Ibid., 23.
5. Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Canada Presbyterian Church, 1870, p. 49.

effected with as little delay as possible, inasmuch as thereby "the interests of Presbyterianism would be strengthened and and the glory of God promoted." [6]

In the meantime a more comprehensive union that looked towards the incorporation of all the Presbyterian Churches of Canada under one General Assembly had received a powerful initial impulse from a letter addressed by Dr. William Ormiston, Moderator in 1869 of the Synod of the Canada Presbyterian Church, to Dr. John Jenkins, Moderator of the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada in connection with the Church of Scotland. This communication proposed the Incorporation of all the Presbyterian Churches in the Dominion under one General Assembly for "it seemed natural and right that Churches, holding the same standards and administering the same Scriptural form of church government and discipline, should unite their efforts in the great common work of evangelizing the entire Dominion."[7] The Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada in connection with the Church of Scotland favourably considered Dr. Ormiston's proposal, appointed a Union Committee of Six, and forwarded Dr. Ormiston's suggestion to the Moderators of the three other Presbyterian Churches in Canada.[8] In due course the Supreme Courts of all the Presbyterian Churches appointed Union Committees of Six. In September, 1870, the four Committees met in Montreal as a Joint Union Committee and elected Dr. John Cook as chairman and Dr. Alexander Topp as Secretary. A full discussion revealed a substantial agreement in principles which justified the hope of an organic union. There was unanimously adopted a Basis of Union for report in 1871 to the Supreme Courts of the four Churches. These Courts enlarged their Union Committees, and reappointed them from year to year while the plan of Union was being matured through frequent confer-

6. Ibid.
7. W. Gregg, Short History of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 189.
8. Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Canada Presbyterian Church, 1870, p. 49.

ences. Finally the whole proposal was sent down to Presbyteries, Congregations and Sessions for their consideration. In 1875 the Supreme Courts of the four churches resolved to unite as one body in accordance with the Basis of Union agreed upon.

In the Preamble of the Basis of Union the influence of the "Free Churches," the General Assembly of the Canada Presbyterian Church and the Assembly of the Lower Provinces, was felt in the unequivocal declaration of the sole Headship of Christ, for the "Presbyterian Church in Canada" was pronounced to be "independent of all other churches in its jurisdiction and under authority to Christ alone, the Head of the Church, and Head over all things to the Church." The two other Synods acquiesced in dropping from the title of the new Church the phrase "in connection with the Church of Scotland." This "connection" had led to the unfortunate Secession of 1844 and to the suspension of all fellowship with the Church of Scotland on the part of the Free Churches in Canada. In 1875 the "connection" was dropped, but the fellowship was resumed. The Church ceased to be Frontier, but became more fraternal. For the new Presbyterian Church in Canada, now entirely Canadian and independent, adopted the following resolution on Relations to other churches,—

1 "This Church cherishes Christian affection towards the whole Church of God, and desires to hold fraternal intercourse with it in its several branches, as opportunity offers."

2. "This Church shall, under terms and regulations as may from time to time be agreed on, receive Ministers and Probationers from other churches, and especially from Churches holding the same doctrine, government and discipline with itself."[9]

The Church of Scotland, in its turn, declared that nothing in the Basis of Union indicated disloyalty on the part of the Canadian churches to the Mother Church.[10] Further,

9. The Basis of Union, Accompanying Resolution No. 1.
10. R. Gordon Balfour, Presbyterianism in the Colonies, 62. See also J. T. McNeill, The Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1875-1925, p. 29.

in adopting the Westminster Confession of Faith as the subordinate standard of the church and the Longer and Shorter Catechisms as a basis for the instruction of the people it was explicity set forth that it was "distinctly understood that nothing contained in the aforesaid Confession or Catechisms, regarding the power and duty of the Civil Magistrate, shall be held to sanction any principles or views inconsistent with full liberty of conscience in matters of religion." This provision was enacted to guard the principles for which the Secession had originally taken place.

The Union of the four Synods was consummated at Montreal in the Victoria Hall on Tuesday, June 15th, 1875. Rev. John Cook, D.D., of St. Andrew's Church, Quebec, was unanimously chosen first Moderator of the Presbyterian Church in Canada. In accepting the high honour conferred upon him Dr. Cook declared,—

> "Far larger union is, I trust, in store for the Churches of Christ even in Canada than that which we effect this day. That is but a small step to the union which Our Lord's intercessory prayer seems to contemplate . . . . . We justly revere the men of Glasgow in 1638 and of Westminster in 1649, but they were not inspired prophets more than we; and no larger union will be accomplished if we hold in regard of them, or other Churches in regard of their founders, that every part and parcel of what they established is as little to be touched or altered as the words of the Evangelists and Apostles, or as if they had all been written down in some New Testament Book of Leviticus . . . . . I am deliberately of opinion that there is not one Christian organization from the Church of Rome down to the last formed gathering of the Plymouth Brethren, from whom some good lesson might not be learned and which could be added for its advantage to our common Presbyterianism." [11]

The Presbyterian Church in Canada had come into being

11. The Toronto Globe, June 16, 1875.

through the organic union of four Churches to meet the challenge of national tasks on a continent-wide Frontier. Principal Snodgrass voiced the purpose which had brought the new Church into existence,—

> "What we want as a Church of Canada is a church around which the present generation and generations yet to come shall rally, for which they will give liberally of their means and ability so that it may do well and worthily the great work that lies before it."[12]

From this Union of 1875 a small group of dissentients stood aloof,—two ministers of the Canada Presbyterian Church, ten of the Presbyterian Church of Canada in connection with the Church of Scotland, and nine of the Synod of the Maritime Provinces. The ten dissenting Kirk ministers instituted an action in the civil courts to establish their claim to the whole Temporalities Fund, in which, though they had not entered Union, they had been assigned their proportionate life interest. Their claim to the entire Fund rested on the contention that they alone represented the old Synod. Defeated in the civil courts, the dissenters carried their appeal to the Privy Council. The judgment of the Privy Council was that an interference of the Dominion Parliament was necessary in order to a final settlement of the matter.[13] The question was completely disposed of when the Parliament of Canada by legislation confirmed the arrangement previously made by the Acts of the Provincial Legislatures.

The Presbyterian Churches had followed the example set by the Canadian Provinces in their Confederation. They had established a United Body as a more effective instrument for service in the Dominion. The Frontier, continent-wide, had called into being a Presbyterian Church national in its scope.

3. Methodists.

The Methodists in Canada could not, any more than the Presbyterians, escape the impulse towards consolidation and

12. Ibid.
13. R. Gordon Balfour, Presbyterianism in the Colonies, 62.

towards the establishment of a continent-wide Frontier. The confederation of the Provinces had created one single community throughout the whole Dominion. Herein were to be found new opportunities for the progress and spread of Methodism provided only that Methodism could face its task with a united front. And on the Canadian Frontier the pathway towards Union was not untrodden for the followers of John Wesley.

In 1841 had occurred the union of the Canadian Wesleyan Methodists with the Methodist New Connexion. Two years later the Protestant Methodists of Eastern Canada also united. Thus in 1843 had been formed the Methodist New Connexion Church. The Canadian Conference of this Church stood in closest touch with the parent body in England. For its missions it received annual grants from the English Missionary Fund. A representative of the Mother Conference was Superintendent of Missions, ex-officio member of the Canadian Conference and corresponding member of its Executive Committee. But even in the forties provision had been made for the ultimate independence of the Canadian Church, for the terms of union declared that

> "The exertions of the English Methodist New Connexion Missionary Society will be directed to the establishment of an active, prosperous, and permanent distinct community in Canada; that, as this end is attained by the formation of circuits, the introduction of the system, and the missionary stations becoming so many parts of the body, in that proportion the influence of the English Connexion shall cease in its concerns, and the body in Canada shall become a distinct religious community united only to the brethren in England in Christian love, and in those kind offices which will always be proper and acceptable." [14]

With the transformation of mission stations into regular circuits and an increasing measure of self-support the Cana-

14. "Centennial of Canadian Methodism," 107.

dian Conference of the Methodist New Connexion Church could look forward to being accorded complete control over its own affairs. From year to year in the sixties this Conference passed resolutions looking towards the union of the Methodist bodies in Canada. This branch of Methodism greatly stressed the necessity and significance of lay representation in the legislative courts of the Church.[15] In February and March, 1871, committees representing the various Methodist groups met for conference in the Mechanics' Institute Building, Toronto. Resolutions in favour of the principle of union were passed. In the meantime, however, negotiations were confined to two groups, the Wesleyan Methodists and the Methodist New Connexion Church.

We have already noted the union of the Canadian and British Wesleyans, their disruption, their reunion in 1847, and the amalgamation in 1854 of the Wesleyan Methodism of Upper and Lower Canada. There ensued a period of rapid growth and great prosperity for Wesleyan Methodism. The need of laymen was increasingly felt as the business of the Annual Conference embraced a wider range of interests. "The sentiment in favour of lay cooperation," wrote Dr. Johnston, "was growing rapidly, and the church was ripening for a change in its administration and government." [16] In 1866 the Canadian Conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Church passed a resolution favouring the "union of all the Methodist bodies in Canada, who believe in the same doctrines, sing the same hymns, have the same form of worship, the same love-feasts, the same prayers and class meetings, and the same general rules of society." In 1874 this Conference united with the Wesleyan Conference of Eastern British America. This was, according to Dr. Williams, "a rearrangement of the work in the same denomination rather than the union of Churches which were not already one people."[17]

15. Ibid., 120.
16. Ibid., 89.
17. Ibid., 120.

Union Committee meetings were accordingly held in the Metropolitan Church, Toronto, between representatives of the Wesleyan Methodist Conference and of the Methodist New Connexion Conference of Canada, on October 1st and 2nd, 1872; January 30th and 31st, 1873; April 9th and 10th, 1873. A Basis of Union was there adopted, and submitted to the Conferences of the two churches.

The Methodist New Connexion Conference on June 4, 1873, accepted this report, subject to the sanction of a majority of the November Quarterly Meetings, and appointed a delegation to proceed to England to lay a full statement of the whole matter before the Conference of the parent body. The majority of the Quarterly Meetings approved. At Milton, on August 12th, 1874, the deputation appointed to attend the English Conference reported that certain modifications that had been made did not remove the main grounds of the objections which the English Conference entertained towards the Basis of Union. The English Conference, however, declared,—

> "That inasmuch as a large majority of the Quarterly Meetings in Canada have accepted the Basis of Union, and as their deliverances have been ratified and adopted by our Canadian Conference, which now asks our formal consent thereto, this Conference, in view of these facts, deems it undesirable further to oppose the union, and should the Canadian Conference, adjourned to the call of the President for the final consideration of this question, after receiving our resolutions, resolve to consummate the union on the terms proposed, this Conference accepts such decision, in the hope that the proposed union will be overruled by the Great Head of the Church to the establishment and extension of liberal Methodism in the Dominion of Canada, and to the advancement of the principles and blessings of the Kingdom of Christ in the world." [18]

18. Ibid., 123.

Conference, thereupon, resolved to unite with the Wesleyan Methodist Church of Canada. In the meantime the Canadian Wesleyan Conference had approved the Basis of Union and had appointed delegates to the English Wesleyan Conference to secure the harmonious dissolution of the union that had previously existed between the Canadian and English branches of Wesleyanism. This dissolution was achieved without difficulty. The English Wesleyan Conference was not averse to escaping the responsibility of endorsing the terms of union proposed. The Canadian Wesleyans were taking a more advanced position, in their union with the Methodist New Connexion Church, in the matter of favouring lay representation than the English Wesleyans at that time approved.[19] The Methodist New Connexion Church carried with it into the Union the principle of lay representation. The Church constituted by this union of 1874 became known as the Methodist Church of Canada.[20] At its first General Conference, September 16, 1874, for the first time in the history of Methodism on the American Continent the laity were given equal representation in the chief court of any large Methodist Church. But as yet only ministers could attend the Annual Conference. There still remained apart from this united Church and from each other the Methodist Episcopal Church of Canada, the Primitive Methodist Church of Canada, the Bible Christian Church in Canada, and the German and African Methodists.

"The practical success of the union of the Wesleyan and New Connexion bodies," wrote Dr. E. H. Dewart, "largely silenced objectors and prepared the way for the more comprehensive union that was successfully carried into effect in 1883."[21]

We have already seen how the secession from the Wesleyan Conference at Kingston in 1834 led to the formation

19. Ibid., 131.
20. The original name chosen was the United Wesleyan Methodist Church. The name was changed to facilitate future Union.
21. Ibid., 147.

of the Canadian Methodist Episcopal Church. In the days that ensued much bitterness had been engendered by quarrels with the Wesleyans over the matter of property.[22] The decision of the courts was favourable to the Wesleyans. The Methodist Episcopal Church issued its own paper, the *Canada Christian Advocate,* founded Albert College, and established its own missions. It espoused the principle of voluntary support and refused to ask for grants from the public revenue. As the years passed kindly feelings had been fostered between the various Methodist bodies by reason of the interchange of courtesies and of fraternal delegations. In 1881 an agitation for the union of all the Methodist Churches grew up as a result of the Oecumenical Conference held that year in London, England. In 1882 the General Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church and of the Methodist Church of Canada met in Hamilton. The question of union received a new impulse. Arrangements were made for a conference to be held in Carlton Street Primitive Methodist Church to discuss a possible Basis of Union. To this conference were invited representatives of the Conferences of the Primitive Methodists and Bible Christians.

In the beginning the work of the Primitive Methodist Church in Canada was operated as a mission under the care of Hull Circuit of the English Conference. After twelve years, in 1843, the Canadian Church was placed under the General Missionary Committee. From 1850 there was steady progress till in 1860 the Primitive Methodists had 32 stations, 40 missions and missionaries and 4,274 members. A further step had been the establishment of a Canadian Conference in 1854. This gave a larger measure of self-government. The English Conference accorded to the Canadian Conference the right to station its own preachers and to conduct its own missionary operations. It might further appoint one minister and one layman as representatives to

22. See the Waterloo Chapel case. Ibid., 168.

the English Conference. But the Church in Canada was still regarded as an integral part of the English Connexion. It made full reports to the parent body, published its transactions in the English Minutes and yearly accepted a grant to be administered by the Canadian Missionary Committee.

In 1882 the Conference of the Primitive Methodist Church in Canada affirmed the desirability and possibility of the unification of Methodism in Canada and appointed a Committee to confer with any Committees appointed by other Methodist Churches to prepare a Basis of Union. The Basis thus prepared was approved by a large majority of the societies throughout the Connexion. The following message was sent to the English Conference:—

> "We would respectfully bring to your notice at this earliest opportunity the following resolution of the Conference now in session on the question of Methodist Union,—That this Conference is prepared to admit the possibility, desirability and feasibility of a unification of Methodism in this Dominion.
>
> "The motion was passed by a large majority. For some years past we have felt the strong tendencies of religious events in this country drawing, as by an almost irresistible influence, the scattered elements of Methodism together. The numerous branches of the Methodist Church found in thinly populated districts and the migratory habits of the people have rendered it impossible in many places for even the most efficient man to build up strong societies and have involved years of earnest toil for which very inadequate results have been obtained.
>
> "We would gladly have made any sacrifice of a financial character if we believed we were doing the best that could be done for God and could see good prospects of permanently establishing our denomination in this country.
>
> "Our love for the parent cause in England prompts us to say that we are not unmindful of the fact that much

that is dear in our religious history we owe to Primitive Methodism, and that for many years we have received substantial help from your hands. No initiative has been taken as yet, in reference to a Basis of Union, but we have felt it our duty to submit the case to you first of all. When a practical basis can be found that would be honorable and acceptable to us as a people, we trust we shall have your counsel and acquiescence.

"The whole matter has come upon us spontaneously without agitation. The pressure brought to bear upon us by the consideration given to this subject by other Methodist branches, the force of public sentiment, influenced by the Oecumenical Council to some extent, and the fact that many of our Quarterly Meetings have sent union legislation strongly endorsed by several distinct meeetings have resulted in this issue.

"With a solemn consciousness of the leading hand of God in this movement we submit the matter to your affectionate consideration." [23]

A letter of acquiescence was sent from the Primitive Methodist authorities in England:

"We are of the opinion, after maturely considering the question in all its bearings, that it would be unwise on our part to offer any opposition, provided the process of unification be conducted and consummated on fair and honorable terms, as we have reason to believe they will be." [24]

As we have seen, the Basis of Union was acceptable to the Primitive Methodists. It had secured to the laity a due share of power and responsibility in the government of the Church. Great weight had been given to a circular letter sent out by the Joint Union Committee to all the negotiating groups giving the reasons why Methodism should be one, and urging the people "to allow no prejudice, wordly motives, selfish aims, doubts, suspicion, party spirit, old jealousies or

23. Mrs. R. P. Hopper, Old-Time Primitive Methodism in Canada, 309.
24. Ibid, 321.

fancied injuries to prevent a wise and efficient direction of the resources of the Church in her men, her institutions and her money." It was urged that the rivalries and jealousies of the past had hindered God's work and that harmony and brotherly love would increase the fellowship of the Spirit and consequent revival of God's work.[25] The Primitive Methodists had pronounced the union desirable and possible. Accordingly their Conference appointed delegates to attend the General Conference to be held in Belleville in September, 1883, with a view to the consummation of Union.

Cobourg was the cradle of the Bible Christian Church in Canada. There Mr. Eynon, in July, 1833, "first preached in the open-air, then in the gaol, then in a dwelling house, and there organized the first society consisting of four persons, all of whom were faithful to God and the Church, until called to the Kingdom and home of heaven." [26] From these small beginnings the work grew through the faithfulness and zeal of the ministers. In 1845 the first missionary meeting was held. "Missionary liberality and enthusiasm were striking characteristics of the denomination from this time on to the days of the Union." [27] From 1852 the Bible Christian Church in Canada ceased to receive financial aid from England and became self-supporting.

In 1853 and 1854 were held in Bowmanville general meetings of the preachers and representatives of the three districts into which the field of the Bible Christian Church in Canada was then divided. Though the object of these meetings was simply mutual advice, encouragement, report, and to exchange work they led to misunderstandings with England.[28] The parent body feared that the Canadian Church was seeking complete independence. To allay irritation a deputation was sent to the English Conference of 1854. An agreement was then reached. The Canadian

25. Ibid., 315-316.
26. "Centennial of Canadian Methodism," 210.
27. Ibid., 214.
28. Ibid., 215.

church was granted a separate Conference with a constitution identical with that of the English Conference and with full control over Provincial affairs. The Canadian Conference remained in close affiliation with the parent Conference and remitted each year one-tenth of its missionary receipts. The first Canadian Conference of the Bible Christian Church met at Columbus, June 7, 1855. After ten years, when the Prince Edward Island District was taken into the Canadian Conference, by mutual agreement the remittances ceased and the Canadian church assumed its own financial responsibilities. Its ministers knew well the problems of the Frontier and its pioneer missionaries proved to be "wise and judicious leaders, able and profitable preachers." "Though they had often to make their study in the woods, and find a place for their devotions under the shadow of a great tree, and many a time had to rise from prayer swollen and almost blind from mosquito bites, or a plague of black flies; and had to carry their few books, procured at great sacrifice from small salaries, over long and exhausting journeys; yet they did read and study, and by close application and wise economy of time, and untiring industry and self-improvement, keep abreast of their times and people." [29] In 1866 the Bible Christian Church began the publication of its denominational paper, "The Observer." In the seventies the years 1874, 1876, 1877 and 1881 witnessed gains in membership, but deep concern was caused by the losses and removals of 1873, 1878, 1879, 1880. Further the denomination began to be involved in debt, beginning in 1871 and culminating in 1880 with a liability of $55,000. The Oecumenical Council of Methodism in London, in 1881, also turned the minds of the Bible Christians to Union. The Conference of 1882 was requested to consider the possibility of a union of all Methodist bodies in Canada. The representative of the English Conference, Rev. F. W. Bourne, gave a great impulse towards the union movement. Accordingly delegates were appointed to attend the

29. Ibid., 217.

Joint Union Committee meetings in Carlton Street Church, Toronto. The Basis of Union agreed upon was endorsed by more than a two-thirds majority of the members of the church. The Conference at Exeter ratified the Union by a vote of 54 to 16 with 12 neutrals. A request was sent to England to the parent Conference asking for approval and blessing. At first there was a misunderstanding, and the English Conference withheld its sanction to the proposed union "until an opportunity shall be afforded for forming a matured judgment on the subject."[30] It affectionately urged the Canadian friends not to hasten the consummation of union,—"The work assigned us as a denomination is not yet completed." The attitude of the Bible Christians in Canada was thereupon set forth by their President,—

> "Though they highly respected the brethren at home yet when it became a matter of the unification of the Methodist Churches in the Dominion and increased usefulness they felt they must sink beneath the claims of the cause of Christ and the needs of the people on this side of the Atlantic. They did not believe the English Conference would make any legal demands on their property and they had sufficient sense of justice to affirm that if the ministers and people joined the United Methodist Church, their property must go with them. At all events they would carry the ministers and the people into the United Church, and the buildings would then be useless if held by the parent Church. They would have preferred to enter the united body with the sanction of the English Conference, but they would rather go on without that consent than wreck the union movement. There was not a sufficient number of dissentients to cause any danger of their forming a new and separate Church."[31]

Before many months misunderstandings were removed and the English Conference accorded a hearty blessing and

30. The Toronto Globe, Aug. 30, 1883.
31. The Toronto Globe, Sept. 6, 1883.

God-speed to the Canadian Union. The Bible Christian Church entered the Union with its evangelical emphasis upon the Bible, with its use of laymen in all church courts and committees, with its resistance to any connection between Church and State and to government grants for sectarian institutions, with its strong espousal of Temperance, and with a belief in the labour and ministry of women in the Christian Church.

The Basis of Union had now been submitted to the higher courts of the Methodist Church of Canada, the Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada, the Primitive Methodist Church in Canada and the Bible Christian Church. It had been approved by both the people and the higher courts of these Churches. Union was still further approved and consummated at the Union General Conference held in Belleville in August-September, 1883. At that time the concurrence in the Union on the part of the English Conference of Bible Christians had not been given. Accordingly, to prevent difficulties in the matter of the transfer of property, it was arranged that the Union should not take effect until July 1, 1884. In the meantime as a matter of expediency and to make clear and indisputable all titles to church property legislation was procured in the several Provincial Legislatures and in the Parliament of Canada giving legal effect to the Union. No opposition was encountered, and on July 1, 1884, the Methodist Church of Canada completed its process of consolidation and confederation. It now had an undivided front with a continent-wide Frontier.

What were the motives that inspired these unions of Methodism? They were both religious and national. "No one," declared Dr. Rice, "seemed to know the origin of the movement. It seemed to spring up spontaneously, it began to be talked about in papers, it got into Conference, resolutions were formulated, and almost before they were aware of it they were met with this movement in favour of Metho-

dist union. The question had assumed such proportions that it must be dealt with in some way. The question had assumed such a shape before the Christian public today that the Methodist Church of Canada, strong as she is, could not afford to take an unfriendly attitude towards it." [32] There was the strong religious motive that looked for a revival. "When union is accomplished," declared Rev. J. R. Gundy, "shadows will disappear and revivals will follow."[33] There was present also the sense of essential unity. The four bodies were almost identical in their principles and it was felt to be increasingly difficult to justify their continued separation. The Confederation of the Dominion and the union of the Presbyterians in 1875 also turned men's minds towards union. "What a bound forward," said Dr. Allison in 1883, "the cause of Presbyterianism in Nova Scotia had taken since the unification of their Churches! By that wise and judicious act the Presbyterian Church had secured for itself, to a large extent, the controlling influence in that Province just as the Methodists might make themselves the controlling element in Ontario if they had the intelligence to follow the example of the Presbyterians." [34] But the dominant motive was the winning of the Frontier. Hon. J. W. Sifton declared at Conference that a visit to the North-West would convince any brother of the necessity of Union.[35] Judge Dean insisted that the Methodists should "all remember that, if the North-West was not destroyed by politicians and Temperance Colonization Societies, within ten years it would be the greater Dominion. It was high time that Methodists should unite so as to impress themselves on the social and religious life of the Western country. Unless union took place now or within a year or two it would be too late to do this work effectually." [36] Dr. Rice, President of Conference, had a still

32. The Toronto Globe, Aug. 31, 1883.
33. Ibid.
34. Ibid.
35. The Toronto Globe, Sept. 4, 1883.
36. The Toronto Globe, Aug. 31, 1883.

larger conception of its significance:—"The Methodist Church was now entering on an era fraught with great importance not only to them as a Church but to the whole cause of Christianity in the Dominion, and, to some extent, throughout the world. It must not be forgotten that the decision reached will have effect, prejudicially or otherwise, on the efforts for unification of the Churches on the earth."[37] Together with the motives which we have mentioned an impelling motive was the feeling that Methodism ought to be wholly Canadian if it would undertake national tasks in the Dominion. We have already indicated that in the period 1791-1867 the Canadian churches attained or were on the eve of attaining, independence of control from abroad. The ties binding the Methodism of Canada and of England, though important by reason of their sentimental significance, were regarded as largely formal. But the attitude of the English Conference of the Bible Christians had shown that these same ties might seriously hamper free progress. The attainment of Union in 1883-1884 severed the formal ties with England and made Methodism wholly Canadian.

4. Church of England.

The Church of England at Confederation had already become Canadian in character. It was still largely dependent for support upon the Mother Church. It remained for it to become Dominion-wide, national in its activities. The transformation can be illustrated by the Diocese of Quebec. The first three Bishops of this Diocese were appointed by the Crown upon the nomination of the Colonial Minister and with the advice of the Archbishop of Canterbury. The fourth Bishop was elected by the suffrages of the clergy and laity of the Diocese and consecrated in its Cathedral. When Rev. James William Williams was chosen Bishop on March 5, 1863, Quebec was still supplied with the ministrations of religion, and its ministers were still supported, from

37. Ibid.

the alms of the old world. "Our people are not ripe for the self-supporting system," wrote Bishop Mountain; " we cannot—I am sure I cannot—carry on the church upon that principle." [38] In Quebec itself there was not one self-supporting parish. Outside the city there were thirty-four missions, the clergy of which did not receive on an average $100 a year from their own people. The bulk of their income was derived from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Under the guidance of Bishop Williams and his Diocesan organization thirteen of the thirty-four missions became self-supporting parishes, and the remainder came to pay on an average one-half of the stipends of their clergy. At the same time eleven new missions were established and the annual grant of the S. P. G. was reduced.

It was this aspiration for self-support, and, as a necessary consequence, for self-government, that led to the establishment on the part of the Church of England of Diocesan and Provincial Synods. The Church of England felt the need of closer cooperation and a wider fellowship. As early as 1865 one of the Canadian Provincial Synods brought before the Archbishop of Canterbury the desire of the Canadian and American Bishops for a Pan-Anglican Synod. This was in fact the origin of the Lambeth Conferences." [39]

It was this desire for united action, particularly for missions in Canada and abroad, that led to the formation of the General Synod. The national task called for a continent-wide organization. A report of the Diocesan Synod of Montreal declared,—"It seems to many that for the Canadian Church there still remains a great work, too much neglected, in the extension of the Church on the vast plains of this northern Continent and to the Indian tribes of the North-West." [40] In 1890 the Winnipeg Conference adopted a Basis

38. Henry Roe,—Story of the first Hundred Years of the Diocese of Quebec, 51.
39. G. Robert Wynne, The Church in Greater Britain, 78.
40. Ibid., 227.

of Union for the whole Church of England in Canada. As a result the General Synod was formed in Toronto in 1893.[41] The nine following years were spent in securing for the union the consent of the Diocesan and Provincial Synods. "In September, 1902," writes Canon Tucker, "the General Synod of the Church in Canada met in the City of Montreal to close, if possible, the twelve years' discussion that had prevailed on the unification of the Church. It was universally felt that a mere nominal consolidation, for counsel and debate, would be of small value; that the only consolidation worthy of the name was that which would bring the whole Church into the field of action. Here was a united body; here were vast resources and still vaster possibilities, both in men and in money; and here were fields of unspeakable opportunity, both at home and abroad. By an irresistible impulse, by what many felt to be the guiding Presence and the Overruling Hand of God, a Canon was unanimously passed for the formation of a Missionary Society." [42]

In addition to the Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada the General Synod established The General Board of Religious Education and a Council for Social Service. It adopted a Book of Common Praise and revised the Book of Common Prayer. It enacted Canons dealing with Marriage and Divorce, Transfer of Clergy, Degrees in Divinity, Deaconesses, Pension Funds and other matters common to the whole Church in Canada. The Church of England in Canada has through the General Synod equipped itself to perform national tasks on a continent-wide Frontier.

5. Roman Catholics.

The Roman Catholic Church has not stood entirely aloof from the tendency of the Canadian churches since 1867 to organize themselves nationally for the Dominion tasks of a

41. For Historical Notes on The General Synod, see The Year Book of the Church of England in the Dominion of Canada, 1927, p. 63.
42. Rev. L. Norman Tucker, From Sea to Sea, 61-62.

continent-wide Frontier. In this process there have been four outstanding stages,—first, the Councils of Quebec; second, the elevation of Archbishop Taschereau to the Cardinalate; third, the appointment of an Apostolic Delegation for Canada by Leo XIII, August 3, 1899;[43] and fourth, the removal in 1908 of Canada from under the jurisdiction of the Propaganda.[44] To the earliest of the Councils of Quebec all the Roman Catholic bishops in Canada were convoked. These Councils contributed to common action and like legislation on the part of all Dioceses. In the third Council a rule was asked from the Holy See for the election of Canadian bishops. In 1886 Archbishop Taschereau was given the red hat. This elevation to the Cardinalate was felt to be an honour conferred upon the whole Canadian Roman Catholic Church and went far towards creating a common spirit of loyalty among the faithful throughout the Dominion. It was the agitation over the Manitoba School Question that led to the despatch by His Holiness of Monsignor Merry Del Val as a delegate to the Canadian church. The result of his enquiry was the encyclical *Affari vos* and the establishment by Pope Leo XIII, on August 3, 1899, of an Apostolic Delegation for Canada. The Apostolic Delegates have been Mgr. Diomede Falconio, 1899-1902; Mgr. Donato Sbarretti, 1902-1910; Mgr. Pellegrino-Francesco Stagni, 1910-1918; Mgr. Pietro di Maria, 1918-1927; Mgr. Andrea Cassulo, 1927. The Apostolic Delegation has given the Roman Catholic Church in Canada a single voice for Rome and has emphasized the national aspect of a continent-wide Church. The Church in Canada has not been under the jurisdiction of the Propaganda since 1908. It has emerged from the status of a mission church.

6. Other Churches.

The same tendency to organize on a national basis for the problems of a continent-wide Frontier influenced even

43. Le Canada Ecclésiastique, p. 60.
44. Canada and its Provinces, XI, 100.

those churches that were congregational in polity. In 1906 the Congregational Union of Ontario and Quebec and the Congregational Union of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick were merged as the Congregational Union of Canada. The Baptists united to form three large self-governing organizations,—the Convention for the Maritime Provinces, the Convention for Ontario and Quebec and the Baptist Union of Western Canada. In 1911 a larger cooperation was established by the formation of the Canadian Baptist Foreign Mission Board to supervise all foreign mission work carried on by the Baptists throughout the whole Dominion.

The impulse to federate in order to meet the religious needs of the continent-wide Frontier, which the Cenfederation of the Dominion in 1867 had yielded, was not confined to any single Church. Methodists, Presbyterians, Anglicans, Roman Catholics, Congregationalists and Baptists were all, to a greater or less degree, affected by this tendency. The new Dominion called for Dominion-wide Churches to undertake the religious tasks of a national Frontier.

Chapter X.

Religion in the School on the Frontier

1. Religion an Issue in Frontier Schools.

How sensitive the public mind of Canada is to issues raised on the Frontier was never better illustrated than in the case of the Manitoba School Question. The whole public life of the Dominion was agitated for a decade, and the result of a Federal election decided, over the character of the little rural schools on the Frontier of the Western Prairie.

2. District of Assiniboia.

The old District of Assiniboia had not been disturbed by the controversy over Separate Schools that had raged in Upper Canada during the major portion of the period between the Act of Union of 1841 and the Confederation of 1867. The Council of Assiniboia had enacted local laws regarding Fires, Animals, Horse-Taking, Hay, Roads, Intoxicating of Indians, Liquor Laws, Customs Duties, Police, Debtors, Intestate Estates, Marriage Licenses, Contracts, Surveyors, Postal Facilities, Wolves' Heads, Justice and others matters. But there was no law in force with respect to Education when Manitoba entered Confederation. Schools, however, were in existence. They were entirely denominational in character, and in them religion and morality formed an essential part of the instruction of the young. They received no public grants and were not subject to the control of public officials.

3. Province of Manitoba till 1890.

When Manitoba was made a Province, the Roman Catholics, true to their traditional policy, insisted upon retaining schools in which they could exercise the privilege of teaching their religious views. They desired to secure their position

from the outset that they might never need to wage the battle that in Upper Canada had called forth in 1852 the following letter from Bishop Charbonnel to Dr. Egerton Ryerson:

> "Therefore, since your school system is the ruin of religion, and persecution of the Church; since we know, at least as well as anybody else, how to encourage, diffuse, promote education, and better than you how to teach respect toward authority, God and His church, parents and government; since we are under the blessed principles of religious liberty and equal civil rights, we must have and we will have, the full management of our schools, as well as Protestants in Lower Canada; or the world of the nineteenth Century will know that here as elsewhere Catholics, against the constitution of the country, against its best and most sacred interests, are persecuted by the most cruel, hypocritical persecution."[1]

The Educational Act of 1871 established in Manitoba a system of denominational education in the schools. A Board of Education was formed, divided into Protestant and Roman Catholic sections. Each of the twenty-four electoral divisions of the Province became a school district. Twelve school districts were considered Protestant and came under the management of the Protestant section of the Board of Education; a like number came under the Roman Catholic section. Grants from the public funds were divided equally between the Roman Catholic and Protestant schools. Under this law the former parish schools were taken over and operated.

From time to time amendments to the Educational Act of 1871 were passed, but substantially the same system of denominational education was maintained in vigour until 1890. After 1876 no ratepayer was obliged to pay for a school other than of his own religion.[2] From 1881 the legis-

1. Nathanael Burwash, Egerton Ryerson, 226.
2. The Manitoba School Case, 1894. Edited for the Canadian Government by the Appellants' Solicitors in London, 60.

lative grant was divided between the Protestant and Roman Catholic sections of the Board in proportion to the number of children between the ages of 5 and 15 in the various school districts of the Province.

4. The Legislation of 1890.

In 1890 the Manitoba Legislature swept out of existence the denominational system of public education. By one Act (53 Vic. c. 37) it established a Department of Education and an Advisory Board. The Board, which consisted of four members appointed by the Department of Education, two elected by the teachers of the Province, and one chosen by the University Council, possessed, among other powers, the right to prescribe the forms of religious exercises to be used in the schools. By another Act, The Public Schools Act, 1890 (53 Vic. c. 38), the Legislature brought all school districts under the provisions of one and the same legislation, and made all public schools free schools. The aim of the Act was to establish a system of public education entirely non-sectarian. No religious exercises were allowed except those conducted at the times prescribed and according to the regulations adopted by the Advisory Board. And such religious exercises were entirely within the option and the discretion of the school trustees of each district to prohibit or to allow. In cases where the religious exercises were held, a pupil, whose parent or guardian objected to them, was to be dismissed from school before the exercises took place. The Act came into force on May 1st, 1890.

André Siegfried has pointed out that down to 1890 state control of education in Manitoba existed only in theory, that, as both Roman Catholics and Protestants had each their own subsidized schools, heads of families were able, with the help of government grants, to have their children educated in accordance with their own ideas. "The Protestants of Manitoba came to have strong feelings in regard to the frankly

clerical tone of the French schools. Their ambition was to bring about the racial unity of their Province, to make it a distinctively Anglo-Saxon country by assimilating all the foreign elements as quickly as possible. Consequently they experienced a growing disinclination to protect even indirectly a form of education which tended in the opposite direction. It was in this spirit of intolerance that the law was passed in 1890 which entirely transformed the system then in operation." [3]

5. The Legality of the Act Contested.

The Act of 1890 did not deprive the Roman Catholic minority of the right to maintain their own schools. But non-compliance with the provisions of the Act involved the withdrawal of the government subsidy. The minority, therefore, regarded the Act as a direct blow at the Church, and, therefore, at the French race. The French of Quebec as well as of Manitoba rallied around the priests. The Frontier of Manitoba had precipitated a racial and religious war.

The first step taken by the minority was to contest the legality of the Act of 1890. Section 22 of The Manitoba Act, 1870 (33 Victoria, ch. 3), had read as follows,—

"In and for the Province the said Legislature may exclusively make Laws in relation to Education, subject and according to the following provisions,—

(1). Nothing in any Law shall prejudicially affect any right or privilege with respect to Denominational Schools which any class of persons have by Law or Practice in the Province at the Union:—

(2). An appeal shall lie to the Governor General in Council from any Act or decision of the Legislature of the Province, or of any Provincial Authority, affecting any right or privilege of the Protestant or Roman Catholic minority of the Queen's subjects in relation to Education:

3. André Siegfried, The Race Question in Canada, 80.

(3). In case any such Provincial Law, as from time to time seems to the Governor-General-in-Council requisite for the due execution of the provisions of this section, is not made, or in case any decision of the Governor-General-in-Council on any appeal under this section is not duly executed by the proper Provincial Authority in that behalf, then, and in every such case, and as far only as the circumstances of each case require, the Parliament of Canada may make remedial Laws for the due execution of the provisions of this section, and of any decision of the Governor-General-in-Council under this section."[4] The case came before the Court of Queen's Bench of Manitoba as an application to quash certain by-laws made by the municipal corporation of Winnipeg for levying rates for school purposes upon Protestant and Roman Catholic ratepayers alike. The claim was made that the Act of 1890 was *ultra vires* of the Provincial Legislature, under the first clause of section 22 of The Manitoba Act, 1870, cited above. This application was refused, the Court of Queen's Bench holding the Act of 1890 *intra vires*. Appeals were made to the Supreme Court of Canada and to the Privy Council. The constitutional character of the Act of 1890 was upheld on the ground that the actual existence of the schools was not menaced, but only their subvention. The minority, also, had recourse to the other clauses of section 22 of The Manitoba Act, regarding an appeal to the Governor-General-in-Council and the enactment of remedial legislation. The Privy Council decided that the Governor-General-in-Council had jurisdiction to make the remedial orders asked for, and that the appeal was well founded, but that "the particular course to be pursued must be determined by the authorities to whom it has been committed by the Statute . . . . It is not for this tribunal to intimate the precise steps to be taken." When the highest courts declared that the federal authorities were possessed

4. E. H Oliver, The Canadian North-West, Its Early Development, ii, 968.

of the needed authority, the Roman Catholics did not hesitate to secure a settlement of the School Question on the Fron-injustice that they claimed had been done the minority.

6. A Dominion Issue.

At the moment a Conservative government was in power in Ottawa under Premier Sir MacKenzie Bowell, an Orangeman. The Liberal Opposition was under the leadership of the Roman Catholic, Hon. Wilfrid Laurier. It was to the Orangemen that the Roman Catholics addressed their appeal to be permitted to have separate schools. When Sir Charles Tupper succeeded to the Premiership he introduced a Remedial Bill to coerce Manitoba into changing its policy in the matter of schools. The Liberals championed Provincial Rights and promised, by diplomacy rather than by coercion, to secure a settlement of the School Question on the Frontier of Manitoba. The Roman Catholic clergy accepted the Conservative measure as satisfactory and threatened Laurier with their opposition. The Liberal leader declared that no word of bitterness would pass his lips against the Church to which he adhered, but he would take no dictation from its hierarchy. He believed that an injustice had been done, but he insisted that the Conservative policy of coercion was no remedy.

7. A Settlement.

In the elections that ensued Laurier decisively defeated Tupper. The episcopal appeal had failed although Manitoba voted for its own coercing. As Premier, Laurier secured his solution of the vexed School Question. The Act of 1890 was not rescinded, but its spirit was changed and its objectionable features rendered innocuous. Provision was made for the teaching of French where parents desired it and where there were at least ten children of French origin. Though the schools

were to be neutral in the matter of religion, provision was made for religious instruction after 3.30 p.m. where parents desired it and where there were at least ten Roman Catholic children (25 in the towns). At a later date, also, as a measure of conciliation, one of the school inspectors was appointed from among the Roman Catholic French teachers.

8. Attitude of the Bishops.

The Roman Catholic clergy protested against Laurier's settlement, and Archbishop Langevin declared,—"We are being treated like the Irish or the Russians. What we demand is (1) the control of our schools; (2) school *administration* everywhere; (3) Catholic history books and readers; (4) Catholic inspectors; (5) Catholic masters selected by us; (6) that we pay our own school tax, and are liable to no taxation for schools not our own."[5] But the minority in general accepted the compromise and Pope Leo XIII recommended peace. The country, however, has not forgotten the political implications of the collective pastoral charge issued in 1896 by the Bishops of Quebec, Montreal and Ottawa,—"If the bishops, whose authority issues from God Himself, are the natural judges of all questions which touch upon the Christian faith and morals; if they are the acknowledged heads of a perfect condition of Society, sovereign in itself and standing above that of the State, it follows that it is in their province, when circumstances render it desirable, not merely to express generally their views and wishes in regard to religious matters, but also to indicate to the faithful the best means of attaining the spiritual ends in view."[6] The abiding impression has been left upon the Dominion that in this land the Roman Catholic hierarchy is standing ever within the shadows keeping watch.

5. Cited in André Siegfried, The Race Question in Canada, 84, from Lavisse and Rambaud's Histoire Générale, Vol. XII.
6. André Siegfried, The Race Question in Canada, 44.

9. Recurrence of the Issue.

In the school question the Frontier had raised an issue that agitated the whole country. Again in 1905, when the new Provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta were carved out of the North-West Territories, the question of religion in the schools on the Frontier was on the verge of precipitating a crisis. "In the midst of calm," writes Siegfried, "within a few months after a magnificent triumph at the polls it was enough for the old question of the schools to be raised for the whole Protestant population to rise in arms against the Catholic Church. The Confederacy remains at the mercy of these violent storms." [7] This prophecy has been amply fulfilled. In 1926 when the Province of Alberta was bargaining for her natural resources and a federal election was being waged this issue threatened once more to come to the front. And in 1929 this matter of religion in the schools overthrew the Government in Saskatchewan.

The question of religion in the schools on the Frontier is bigger with possibilities of controversy than almost any other question that engages public attention. It agitates political no less than church life. It quickens racial antagonisms and arouses to an intensity of passionate interest those, particularly, who are in the religious and ethnic minority in Canada. The growth of a country is registered on the Frontier. On the Frontier, then, the minority and majority alike are keenest to have their views prevail, and keenest of all to have them prevail in what to them is dearest, in religion and education. The issue of religion in the schools on the Frontier concentrates in one single question the deepest and most fundamental issues that divide the nation. The matter of religion in the schools on the Frontier, however, need not be divisive. Provision can be made, provision has been made, and that, too, in the Frontier Provinces of the Prairies, whereby something approaching adequate religious instruc-

7. André Siegfried, The Race Question in Canada, 87.

tion could be given to children attending the public schools. The door of opportunity in connection with the instruction of the children of the public schools has, as a matter of fact, stood wide open for the clergy of the churches to enter in. In some instances the clergy of the neighbourhood have taught religion and morals in the school for one-half hour on certain days. The church has not always responded to the challenge of this splendid opportunity in the measure that the opportunity has presented itself.

The Manitoba School Question has illustrated for this country the capacity of the Frontier to raise or reopen vexed major issues for the whole Dominion.

Chapter XI.

The Frontier of New Peoples; The Challenge and Contribution of The New Canadians

1. The Ethnic Frontier.

Frontiers are not always geographical. They are often spiritual and cultural. In Canada there is an ethnic Frontier constituted of the New Peoples who have sought the Dominion as a land of hope. These New Canadians at one and the same time are making a contribution and affording a challenge to our common life. They are a religious problem and opportunity for the churches.

2. The First Census.

In the first census of Canada in 1871 only 16.8 per cent. of the population was attributable to immigration; 14 per cent. came from the British Isles and Possessions; less than two per cent. came from the United States. Of those now designated as New Canadians there was in the entire population less than one per cent. In all Canada there were only 1,629 souls who had come from the Scandinavian countries, Austria, Poland, Russia, Italy, Portugal and Spain. There was no very grave problem of assimilation when less than five out of every 10,000 needed to be assimilated, and in all the Prairie country there were only thirty-six persons who were immigrants from points outside the British Isles and Possessions.

3. The Continental Immigrant.

Today the Dominion is confronted with the problem of the continental immigrants. In the decade ending 1891 about 80,000 came; in the decade ending 1901 about 100,000; in the decade ending 1911 about 445,000; and in the decade ending 1921, in spite of the Great War, almost as many,

420,000. In only two years of the present Century, the years immediately after demobilization, has British immigration been half of the total immigration into Canada. At the present time the stream of continental immigration is greater in volume than the British.

The problem that confronts the nation is, How to make a united Canada out of the sixty different nationalities represented in these people, particularly when they speak as many different tongues. Is it possible to admit hordes of Europeans and yet shut out Europe with all its antagonisms and hatreds? Perhaps one person in every 20 in Canada is a Ukrainian, and one person in every two in Saskatchewan is a New Canadian. Here and there throughout the land are little Ukraines, little Hungaries, little Polands and little Bohemias. The New Canadians are not confined to any one section of the Dominion East or West and they are a factor in urban as well as in rural life.

Some time ago a survey was made of the prairie rural municipality of Sliding Hills. It had a population of about 5,000 souls,—Bukovinians, Galicians, community and independent Doukhobors, Poles, English and Germans with a few other types slightly represented. Of 100 families examined 53 were Bukovinians, 24 Galicians, 14 Polish, 5 Doukhobors, 3 English, and one Roumanian. At that time there existed in that municipality no newspaper, no nurse, no veterinary surgeon, no doctor, no Protestant church, no cooperative elevator, practically no telephones. A comfortable group of red brick buildings set in a garden formed the village of Veregin where Peter Veregin himself was lodging, a stately figure with all the majesty of a height of 6 feet 6 inches. The large-bodied group of men about him were all Doukhobors, Spirit Wrestlers, dissenters from the Orthodox Russian church of the eighteenth Century. Among these Community Doukhobors, who are deeply religious, every man is a priest, every woman a Virgin Mary. All are vegetarians and paci-

fists. On one occasion they burned a great collection of firearms in one of their villages as a protest against militarism. The Independent Doukhobors, though inoffensive and law-abiding, have been the prey of Bolshevistic propaganda and of faddist sectarianism. They are drifting to materialism in their outlook upon life. There is still another group of Doukhobors, called the "Free Men," who allow their hair to grow long, wear sandals and are garbed in white. On one occasion they publicly burned their dollar bills as a protest against capitalism. They were responsible for the naked pilgrimages of earlier days, recently revived, and even yet indulge in free love.

As the train pulls into Wynyard one may see on the station platform a fine up-standing individual with fair hair and light blue eyes. A prosperous, hard-working man he is, and there are many thereabouts. He is a Scandinavian. That man has listened to the music of the water-falls from the cliffs that rise sheer above the Hardanger Fjord, or perhaps, far north of Drontheim, has beheld the miracle of the midnight sun. And that old lady at the very next station is an Icelander, the mother of the Arctic explorer, Stefanssen. The folk of this type fit easily into Canadian life and are reaching posts of the very first order.

North of Warman and south of Swift Current are the stolid, narrow Mennonites. They have made more than one long journey for their faith, and even since coming to Canada some have set forth again on a pilgrimage. A few years ago in thirty-two of their villages not a single word of English was taught in their schools. Their pabulum was a little arithmetic, a little Bible history and a good deal of catechism. Their teachers received their wages in kind,—oats, barley, wheat. Scarcely a single teacher could speak a word of English. The attention of the Provincial government was drawn to this condition. Schools were built and an attempt made to

force their children to attend. Coercion at first miserably failed. Many of the Mennonites left Canada for the greater freedom of Mexico, but their lot there proved to be most unhappy.

There is a little Czechish settlement south of Glenside. Some of these people came from Slovakia, near Austerlitz; others from Southern Russia, from Bohemka. They miss the Sokols of their native land and Canada has put nothing in their place. They intensely revere the name of Huss. The settlers from Slovakia have intermarried with those from Southern Russia. And marriages have been contracted also with Ukrainians outside the settlement.

Those Germans north of Carmel, with their numerous progeny about them, came by way of the Dakotas from the vine-clad, hop-covered hills of Southern Bavaria. They miss the dance and song and beer and picturesqueness of their early home, but they own half-sections of land and will give their boys a chance in the world.

Forty miles from any railway lives a little group of Hungarians at Middle Lake. They had been nineteen years in the country before they had their first church service. At the first Communion held in the district seventy-one attended in the little school house, all Protestants but two, and forty-three partook of Communion.

Almost anywhere, east or west, one will see Ukrainians. They are the largest group among the New Canadians. Of all the groups they appear to have the greatest inclination to political activity.

The New Canadians in general have been recruited from the peasantry of Europe. They have usually taken kindly to the farm. Many among them are altogether illiterate, but among the Hungarians, for instance, nearly all could read and write their own language when they arrived in Canada. Coming as pioneers the New Canadians were forced in early

days to live under the simplest and meanest conditions. Comparatively few of them can now be said to be living in abject poverty.

4. The Twofold Menace—

The presence of the New Canadians in Canada is a twofold menace, a menace to Canada and a menace to themselves.

(a) An old people in a new land.

Their presence is the menace of an old people in a new land.

The background of these peoples is not our background. They come with prejudices ingrained in them, with attitudes, with antipathies, with habits that are foreign to us. They come to a Frontier, to a land that is only struggling towards character and some definiteness of type. Their nature has been determined by long centuries of history, but as for us,—it doth not yet appear what we shall be. And here in our midst they have settled like foreign substances in the body politic. Under the Siftonian régime they were allowed to group themselves in solid blocks. It cannot be said that these have not been touched by Canadian ideals. But they do dilute the rich wine of national feelings and impulses. Their very ignorance of our past, of our language, of our aspirations prevent these people from sharing in our common hopes. This settlement in solid blocks was possible only in a new land, but it was, and is, particularly dangerous in a new land.

Their presence in this land is a menace because of their inability, sometimes even unwillingness, to assume the implications of Canadian citizenship. They greatly complicate the problems of local self-government. They have not yet attained to complete wisdom in the conduct of rural municipalities and school districts, although the Government has got around many difficulties by appointing official trustees for schools and English-speaking secretaries for municipal-

ities. These folk differ widely in their attitude towards government. The Mennonite will have nothing to do, if he can help it, with schools and such worldly matters as municipal government. The Ukrainian is often engaged in political agitation. Where the New Canadians have been accorded neighborly treatment they have responded; where we have exploited them they stand to us in a relation of suspicion and distrust or else of stolid indifference.

Their presence is a menace in this land because they contribute to the paganizing of life. Their standards of sanitation, of education, in some cases even of commercial honesty, are not ours. Some, too many of them, have an easy conscience in the matter of home brew. Their women folk have sometimes been little more than chattels, useful for child-bearing and, in case of decease, only too easily replaced. They prove frequently a prey to Bolshevistic emissaries and sectarian propagandists.

(b) A new land a menace to an old people.

Their presence in Canada means to them the menace of a new land to an old people.

If their presence here is a danger to Canada it must not be forgotten that Canada is equally a menace to them. Plucked up out of the solid basis of their past, without any preparation on their part and without any kind of probation, they find themselves in a Frontier, in a land where there are no very sure traditions and no very fixed standards. All this is extremely unsettling and fraught with gravest risks. The menace to them is fourfold.

To many has come the disillusionment of dreams. The glaring promises of immigration literature have not all been realized. Land, it is true, has been gained, but often far from school, from doctor, from market, from church. One is always conscious of being close to a heart-ache when he beholds a group of them at worship. They are always deeply

touched. They have left so much behind. Quarter-sections cannot altogether compensate for the separation from their loved ones. Even Ford cars have not always brought happiness. The old worship has changed, the old friends are gone, the old ways have had to yield. They often need a hand-clasp and sympathy. Canada has meant a deep unsettling of their lives.

Secondly, there is the menace to their lives from new standards and the new freedom. The Doukhobours who break away from the Community are not invariably better men for their independence. They often throw off all restraints of a moral nature. Sometimes only at the sacrifice of what is finest in their life do they gain this freedom. In most instances it is far too sudden. The old checks are removed. The old customs are gone. And often the loss is immeasurable in the things that are most worth while.

Thirdly, they have suffered greatly from a new tyranny. The Czar, of course, is gone. There is another tyranny they have to contend with in Canada,—the tyranny of unneighborliness. There are many Canadians who exploit like profiteers, who in relation to them have exhibited neither sympathy nor conscience nor farsightedness. At our invitation they have come from a land that was their home, and we have made them feel like outcasts. Merchants have robbed them, financial men have pillaged them, Christian leaders have spurned them, politicians have made tools of them. Not all, but some. This is the tyranny of unneighborliness.

There is a fourth menace for them that verges on tragedy itself, for it strikes at their homes. Life in Canada has meant for them a cleavage of family life. Of course, the old cannot readily change their language, their customs, their point of view, or even their clothes. But the young do. And because they can succeed in so doing, the young, not infrequently, regard their parents as old European "fogeys." When the old lose touch with the young, the young lose the guidance of

the old, which they so sorely need. Some parents and children lose even the ability to talk to each other. This menace is obvious and widespread,—the cleavage in family life among the New Canadians, the separation in sympathy between young and old, between parent and child.

5. The TwoFold Contribution.

The New Canadians not only are capable of making, they actually have made a striking contribution to Canada. That contribution is twofold,—(*a*) The settling of the country. (*b*) The gift of a new strain of life.

(a) The Settling of the Country.

The story of the settlement of this Western Land is a romance. It is a fit subject for a great epic. The New Canadians have played a worthy part in settling the Prairies. The solitary place has been glad for them.

The New Canadians have been willing to pioneer. No distance has been too remote from market; no land too covered with bush; no stones too heavy to lift; no labour too great to endure. They have lived in sod shacks; they have fared on potatoes; they have made their own clothes and their own vehicles; they have raised their own stock. They have accepted the hard lot of the Frontier as pioneers and foundation-builders. When remittance men dallied around hotels in country towns waiting for allowances from fond parents across the sea, the New Canadians on the Frontier were eating bread in the sweat of their faces.

These continental immigrants have in general shown an aptitude and relish for mixed farming. Of course, some have been smitten with the prairie passion for straight grain growing. But in the main they have raised stock as well as grain. Settled in the wooded country, partly because it was more like their homeland, partly because others shunned the labour of clearing the bluff land, they have now the choicest parts of the Western Provinces.

Again, the drudgery and task-work of the Dominion have fallen heavily upon the New Canadians. They have done the navvy work for the great public utilities. They have lifted and laid the ties for the railways, digged the sewers for the city streets, and sweated in the mines. They have been hewers of wood and drawers of water. These are substantial services to a country,—a magnificent contribution for which no one has the right to despise them.

Moreover, the New Canadians are like the French Canadians in one important respect,—they have numerous progeny. They generously reproduce themselves. In course of time there is usually a host of new little New Canadians.

(b) The Gift of a New Strain of Life.

Thanks to the coming of the New Canadians there will be in Canada a new strain of life and a fresh blending of peoples. We shall have a composite result,—those who will have the good qualities of all the races blended, those who will have the bad qualities of all, and every conceivable distribution and gradation in between these two extremes.

The new strain of life is bound to create rich and varied genius. It is bound to create for Canada moral and social problems of a serious character. In any case, because of their coming, there will be a new trend of national life and a different type of national character. This is a contribution. It may well also constitute a challenge. We have here on an almost unparalleled scale a mixed people in the making. These New Canadians are giving their lives to the most stupendous of all experiments,—the making of a new type of folk. When the Roman race grew weary with the burden of empire new blood was infused into Europe by the Völkerwanderung. It may be that in this new movement of peoples fresh vitality is being injected into the Canadian stock from the back eddies and neglected groups of the common folk of older peoples. Humanity has its own strange way of renewing itself from the soil, from the humbler families in its midst.

It would indeed be poetic revenge if, for the losses incurred by British peoples in the Great War, compensation would be found not in bills of indemnities nor in payment of gold marks and kronen but in the gift of life and blood of human kind poured out through tides of immigration into British Dominions.

An important factor in this new strain of life is the stimulus of a different memory. That is always one of the exhilarations of living in the West. It is impossible to attack the simplest social problem without every person concerned bringing quotas of experience from every conceivable source. This is of enormous advantage. So in our national life we ought to be quickened by the stimulus of different memories. Some good thing can come out of the Ukraine or Hungary or Poland or Iceland.

The new strain of life has brought a greater capacity for toil and a new emphasis on thrift. How permanent this contribution may be, it is impossible to say. But in the first generation it is very notable. There are, however, manifest signs that their descendants are succumbing to the seductions of Ford cars and other luxurious possessions. The New Canadians have become enough like the Old Canadians to delight in the movies and fine dress and a brave showing. It is greatly to be desired that some of the greater capacity for toil will persist and not a little of their genius for thrift.

The New Canadians, again, have a passion for the land. They want to smell the rich tilth and the new mown hay. What Canada needs is folk with a feeling for the great open spaces and a delight in a plowed field. A New Canadian will haul wheat forty miles to an elevator provided he may dwell in the countryside.

And in this new strain of blood is bred an intense hatred of war. The Hungarian Joe Toth of Otthon expressed the general feeling of these newcomers,—"Men are mad to want to go to war." Most New Canadians hate war.

Every responsible Canadian ought to determine what obligations devolve upon him in relation to these people. But he should be warned that the watched pot never boils. It is possible to approach this problem in an atmosphere of artificial excitement that will defeat the very end in view. It may be far better to leave men alone to work out their salvation under their own natural impulses. Interference may stifle the very faculties and aspirations that we seek to create.

6. The Duty of a "New" Canadian.

To the Old Canadians, also, two things need to be said. caution ought to be uttered,—first, "You do not have to break with the best in your past to become a good Canadian"; second, "You cannot become a worthy citizen unless you are willing to appreciate the good that this land has to offer." These principles are fundamental. We who are native Canadians should challenge the new-comers:—"If there is aught of poetry in your language or your soul, bring it to the common store of our Canadian life. Whatsoever things are good and beautiful we need, from whatsoever source. Do not make your contribution only on the physical side. Canada is a place for more things than digging drains. Bring your art, your music, your poetry, your nobler passions, the complete life of your spirit, and indulge them to the full—for Canada!" For the Czech does this Dominion great wrong if he does not bring it the inspiration of Zizka, Huss, Chelciky and Komensky, or if he forgets Masaryk and Benes in our own day. If those who are Scottish by descent thrill at the tales of Wallace, why should not the Magyar thrill at Kossuth's resistance to the Hapsburgs? The simplest peasant from the Ukraine need never hang his head over Tsevchenko. We need the artist, the poet, the thinker, the musician and composer quite as much as the sewer-digger and the track-layer.

7. The Duty of an "Old" Canadian.

To the Old Canadians, also, two things need to be said. The first is that our main duty is to understand these people. They are not "Bohunks" nor dirty Galicians nor stupid Mennonites nor ignorant Magyars nor simple Icelanders. These newcomers have the spiritual and intellectual capacities and qualities to make a contribution to Canada. The first commandment of all is to understand them. The Protestant Churches, unwilling to pay the price of studying them in a serious way, have long been groping for a policy. It would now appear that at last, at long last, they are beginning to establish some contact with them. Departments of government have had intimate relations with them through good roads, telephones, railways, and have helped in other more sporadic ways. The one successful approach to the New Canadians has been through the young,—and best of all through the school. This leads to a second observation,—that service is the privilege of the young Canadian just as understanding is the duty of the older Canadian. What Canada needs today is a consecrated guild of public school teachers. She needs men and women willing to find a career of service in the humble communities of the Frontier.

8. Mutual Trust.

To all alike this word should be said,—"Trust each other, and trust time." He is a poor patriot who in this land raises a racial cry. What we need is mutual trust. And with all our trusting let us not fail to trust time. Time has already wrought many changes. The sod shack has given place to the comfortable home; the oxen have yielded to the motor car. Rome was not built in a day. Let patience have her perfect work in Canada.

There should be no narrow view of the goal. It is not a wise policy that aims at making these people into Anglo-

Saxons. Rather are they, with us, each contributing his best to the common store, to strive to make the Canadianism that is to be, full-orbed and free.

9. Canada a Microcosm.

Canada is today a cross-section of the world's life and problems, a veritable microcosm. Leagues of Nations, Boards of Foreign Missions, statesmen, all are working at the problem of human unity. Canada is a little world with the tribes of the earth brought to dwell within her borders. In making neighbours of the New Canadians we are working at a world task on a smaller scale. In more than one hundred years of peace with the United States Canada has shown herself qualified, on that Frontier, to make a contribution to human unity. In the Great War Canadians became world citizens. Canada, let us hope, is destined to render a world service in the sphere of human unity. She is undergoing her probation in relation to the New Canadians in her midst. She must build upon understanding and sympathy and trust. Her first duty is to inspire her citizens to love and serve those whom Providence has placed within her bounds, the New Canadians, Canada's Frontier of New Peoples. To this Frontier of the life of the Dominion the duty of the Churches of Canada is not primarily proselytism, but understanding, respect and sympathy. If neglected, the New Canadians will, of course, not only suffer moral shipwreck and spiritual unsettlement, they will also paganize all our life. The apparent failure of their own Churches to evangelize their groups justifies Canadian Churches in stepping into the breach to minister to their religious needs. But in any case every branch of the Christian Church in the Dominion has a ministry of Good Samaritanism to perform to this ethnic Frontier of New Canadians.

This ethnic Frontier of New Peoples is not confined to one section of the Dominion. In the West the tendency has

been for them to settle on the land, in the East in the slum areas of the cities. But they are found also, and increasingly, in the country areas of the East and in the cities of the West. To minister to them the Churches have been forced into new and untrodden paths of service,—the training of special workers and of ministers with particular aptitude for, and knowledge of, European languages; the establishment of All-Peoples' missions; the publication of papers in the Ukrainian, Hungarian and other languages; the maintenance of school-homes, social centres in rural as well as urban centres, and hospitals; and the support of missionaries in New Canadian areas who have endeavoured to cooperate with the public school teachers of the adjoining districts. The Churches have assisted Immigration agencies in making the newcomers welcome. They have cooperated sympathetically with medical and dental clinics to improve the general welfare and health of their settlements. They have engaged in promoting among them agricultural societies and home-makers clubs in cooperation with Provincial and University Departments. The Ethnic Frontier of New Peoples has widened for the Churches the whole frontier of service in urban and rural communities in both East and West.

Chapter XII.

The Union of the Congregational, Methodist and Presbyterian Churches—An Issue from the Frontier

1. A Religious Motive.

It is not our purpose to trace the history of the movement that led to the union on June 10, 1925, of the Congregational, Methodist and Presbyterian Churches of the Dominion, nor to assess the value of its contribution to the religious life of Canada. Christian men felt that the competitions and rivalries between the Canadian Churches were out of harmony with the passionate yearning of Christ's prayer of Intercession that His followers all might be one. Union was carried through with an earnest desire to remove the reproach of division in the Body of Christ in this Dominion.

2. Anticipations of Union.

It is the aim of this chapter merely to indicate that as an issue in the religious life of Canada this union of Churches was precipitated from the Frontier. Previous unions within the negotiating churches had been consummated to care for the spiritual needs of members and adherents on a continent-wide Frontier commensurate with the newly federated Dominion. But in the very hour of the Presbyterian Union of 1875 the leaders of the church had foreshadowed an extension of the movement. Dr. Cook declared,—"Far larger union is, I trust, in store for the Churches of Christ even in Canada than that which we effect this day."[1] Principal Snodgrass looked forward to a Church of Canada, "a Church around which the present generation

1. The Toronto Globe, June 16, 1875.

and generations yet to come shall rally, for which they will give liberally of their means and ability, so that it may do well and worthily the great work that lies before it." [2] And Dr. Rice had stated on the occasion of the Methodist Union of 1884 that this union would influence prejudicially or otherwise "the efforts for unification of the Churches on the earth." At the time of the earlier unions, then, leaders in the religious life of Canada anticipated a larger Union that would link together not merely branches of the same church but different Churches themselves into a united Church of Canada. Nor did these Churches lose sight of this goal in the unparalleled expansion that occurred in the years immediately following these Unions.[3]

In the eighties discussions on Union arose, as a result of the Lambeth Quadrilateral, in the press and in the Supreme Courts of the Presbyterian and Methodist Churches.[4] Joint Committees were appointed and held conferences. The Anglican insistence upon the historic Episcopate, however, proved a bar to progress towards Union between the Anglican and non-episcopal Churches.

In 1890, in Victoria, B.C., Dr. D. J. Macdonnell of Toronto forecast a United Church which should possess an aggressively missionary spirit,—"He often dreamed of the Church of the future, the consolidated Church which would be formed by the union of all the denominations . . . . . When this largely tolerant Church fills the land it will be full of a missionary spirit. He hoped this Church, with other characteristics, would include this earnest missionary spirit."[5] In 1892 overtures passed between the General Assembly and the Congregational Union of Ontario and Quebec in which the former "practically invited closer Union." During the following winter ten Congregational ministers of Ontario and

2. Ibid.
3. W. T. Gunn, Uniting Three United Churches, 13.
4. J. T. McNeill, Church Union in Canada,—An Estimate of Dr. Morrow's Book, p. 7.
5. Ibid., p. 14.

Quebec approached the Presbytery of Toronto on the subject of Union of the two Churches. As a result of a memorial from this Presbytery the General Assembly appointed a Committee on the general subject of Union "with instructions to hold themselves ready to confer with any similar body or bodies which may be appointed by any other Church or Churches should the way be clearly opened for such conference." [6] This Committee was reappointed year by year up to, and including, 1901. In the meantime, the Methodist General Conference in 1894 reaffirmed its willingness to negotiate with other Protestant Churches the question of Union, and declared that the needs of the missionary work at home and abroad called more forcibly than ever for economy, for mutual recognition of sister Churches and for co-operation. The General Conference proposed the formation of a Federal Court whose functions were to be to "consult and act with the representatives of other Churches with a view to cooperation and economy in regard to 'dependent charges' within their territory." [7]

3. The Challenge of the Frontier.

By the end of the Nineteenth Century the aggressive immigration policy inaugurated for the Dominion Government by Hon. Clifford Sifton began to bear fruit. A great influx of peoples to the Western Prairies increased the opportunities and responsibilties of the Church Boards of Home Missions. The distances in the West were great, the communities small, the resources of the settlers limited. The Frontier with its needs and opportunities challenged the Churches to end "the unseemly rivalry and waste of men and means in the mission work which is being carried on by these different churches, especially in the newer districts of the country."[8] In 1899 the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, at the request of its Home Mission Committee,

6. Minutes of General Assembly, 1893. p. 47.
7. Journal of Methodist General Conference, 1894, p. 311.
8. A Brief History of the Church Union Movement, p. 21.

appointed a small committee "to meet and confer with representatives of the evangelical Churches, having power to enter into any arrangements with them that will tend to bring about a more satisfactory state of things in our Home Mission Fields, so that the overlapping now complained of may be prevented." [9] This challenge to prevent overlapping on the Frontier and to arrange cooperation in Home Missions was accepted by the Methodist Church. In 1902 the General Conference appointed a similar committee. The Joint Committee unanimously adopted a policy of comity, cooperation and non-intrusion and recommended that the Superintendents whose jurisdiction covered substantially the same field should "meet together at intervals for consultation in the spirit of mutual helpfulness and ready concession respecting the opening of new fields, or the possible readjustment of fields already occupied."

4. The Challenge Accepted.

In the meantime a Presbyterian deputation had challenged the Methodist General Conference of 1902 to consider organic union. In accepting the challenge and inviting the Presbyterian and Congregational Churches to appoint committees to consider organic union the General Conference had definitely in mind the needs of the Frontier, as is evidenced by the Preamble to the Resolution adopting this policy,—

> "And since, further, the present conditions of our country and those in immediate prospect demand the most careful economy of the resources of the leading and aggressive evangelical denominations, both in ministers and money, in order to overtake the religious needs of the people pouring into our new settlements, which economy seems impossible without further organic union or its equivalent."

9. Ibid.

In 1904 the first Joint Committee representing the Congregational, Methodist and Presbyterian Churches met. A "cordial and brotherly spirit and an earnest desire for Divine guidance" was maintained throughout the entire session. In 1906, in accordance with a Resolution adopted by the General Assembly, the Anglicans and Baptists were invited to join the movement. The Baptists considered it "necessary to maintain a separate organized existence," and the Church of England confined its action to "cordial and brotherly replies." By December 11, 1908, the Basis of Union was framed. During the three years following, this Basis was submitted to the negotiating Churches and in all three was approved by substantial majorities. The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, in view of the extent of the minority and hopeful of practically unanimous action, in 1912 deemed it unwise immediately to proceed to consummate the union. In due course an amended Basis of Union was prepared in accordance with suggestions sent forward by Presbyteries. This was approved by the General Assembly, sent down under the Barrier Act to Presbyteries, and reaffirmed by the General Assembly of 1916. Accordingly in 1916 the Presbyterian Church resolved to unite with the Methodist and Congregational Churches which had, in the meantime, accepted the amended Basis of Union, and also notified these Churches to this effect. It was decided, however, to delay the consummation of Union till after the close of the War.

It is not the object of this chapter to recount the story of Church Union nor to relate the bitterness of the struggle which split the Presbyterian Church. It is sufficient to recall that the Union actually was consummated on June 10, 1925, after four years of ecclesiastical controversy, and that a Property Commission, appointed in accordance with Dominion legislation, later reached a unanimous decision in regard to the division of general property. It is necessary, however,

in order to understand Church Union aright, to see in it an effort made by Canadian Churches to meet Frontier needs.

5. Denominational Rivalry.

The opening years of the Twentieth Century witnessed on the Western Frontier, in the face of a rising tide of immigration, an era of competition and rivalry between the Churches, each seeking, indeed, to extend the Kingdom but all with an eye open to denominational advantage. This rivalry was costly, making enormous demands on eastern generosity. It proved humiliating to Christian workers. It hampered church building in small communities. And the conviction grew that it was unchristian.

6. Cooperation.

To prevent overlapping on the Frontier was the object of the policy of Cooperation inaugurated in 1899. This policy of Cooperation, which was carried on under the control of the Mission Boards, involved the principle of exclusion and non-intrusion. A denomination undertook to remain out of certain areas and to become solely responsible for other districts. In some instances alternate towns along a railway were assigned to Methodist and Presbyterian missionaries. The policy was designed largely to save missionary money. It was autocratic in its method, being carried out by Church authorities, and not subject to arrangement or adjustment by local congregations. Methodists within certain areas had to be Presbyterians, and Presbyterians within other areas had to be Methodists. The only alternative was to be deprived of church services, for the denominations agreed not to plant new causes within six miles of each other. Such a plan was made possible and tolerable only by the hope of Church Union. The Frontier became an active force for Union. There was something of coercion, even if the coercion of poverty, which decided the religious affiliations of Western men and women according to the railway stations.

7. Independent Unions.

Some communities on the Frontier did not find the policy of Cooperation either fair or adequate. As a result Independent Unions began to emerge. Of these the first was Melville, 1908. Other examples of this type of Union were Kerrobert and Frobisher. These churches were independent of all other Churches and virtually constituted a new denomination.

8. Agreement for Cooperation.

In the meantime Cooperation as an inter-church policy was placed upon a more permanent basis. Committees had been appointed by the Presbyterians and Congregationalists in 1908 and by the Methodists in 1910 to define the policy to be followed in regard to comity and cooperation and to adjudicate upon special cases where fields might be rearranged to prevent overlapping. These Committees met in joint session early in 1911 and drew up "An Agreement for Cooperation in Home Mission Work." Under this Agreement the three Churches worked for six years, more especially in Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia, with ever increasing efficiency, cordiality and unity.

9. Growing Complexity.

The postponement of Union in 1912 by the General Assembly at Edmonton, with a view to securing greater unanimity, had important results. An impetus was given to the formation of additional Independent Unions on the Prairies.[10] A persistent demand arose for a form of Union that would retain some connection with Parent Churches. Thus Wolseley and North Portal formed Federations,—local experiments on their own initiative.[11] And in the meantime the pressure from the Frontier for an aggressive policy of Church Union was growing in insistence.

10. E.g. Watrous, Young.
11. North Portal subsequently changed to Double Affiliation.

10. Advisory Council.

The General Assembly of 1916, which resolved to proceed with Union and so notified the sister Churches, recommended the appointment of an Advisory Council to assist, counsel and guide the Independent Union movement. As a consequence a representative from each of the Negotiating Churches sat with the General Council of Local Union Churches. Thus the Parent Churches recognized the Independent Union Churches forming on the Frontier, and the Independent Union Church movement openly avowed as its aim the ultimate union with the Parent Churches in organic union. In due course between seventy and eighty local Union Churches came into existence, affiliated with the Congregational, Methodist and Presbyterian Churches through the medium of the Advisory Council. They adopted the "Basis of Union" as their plan of organization. They contributed to the missionary, educational and other funds of the parent bodies, and arrangements were made whereby ministers of the three negotiating Churches might accept pastoral charge of a local union church and still retain their standing and privileges in their own denomination. They regarded themselves as units of the proposed United Church of Canada. Their very existence constituted a challenge from the Frontier to the Parent Churches to hasten the consummation of Union.

11. Revised Agreement.

The Central Committee on Cooperation of the three denominations met in Toronto on January 3 and 4, 1917, and drew up a revised "Agreement for Cooperation" and also a "Suggested Plan for Union Churches in Affiliation with either the Presbyterian Church, the Methodist Church or the Congregational Union of Canada." These became the basis of an ever-increasing cooperation between the three Churches.

Alberta and British Columbia carried out cooperation largely under the scheme of 1911. Practically all overlapping was eliminated through allotting territory to one or other of the three negotiating Churches.

New Ontario developed the Plan of 1917. According to this scheme two or more churches at a local point united to form one "United Church of ———" on the constitution provided in the "Basis of Union" for the local church. They were assigned to the care of one of the negotiating Churches, but were allowed to maintain, if desired, in addition to the membership roll of the united church, separate rolls for each denomination represented.

12. Double Affiliation.

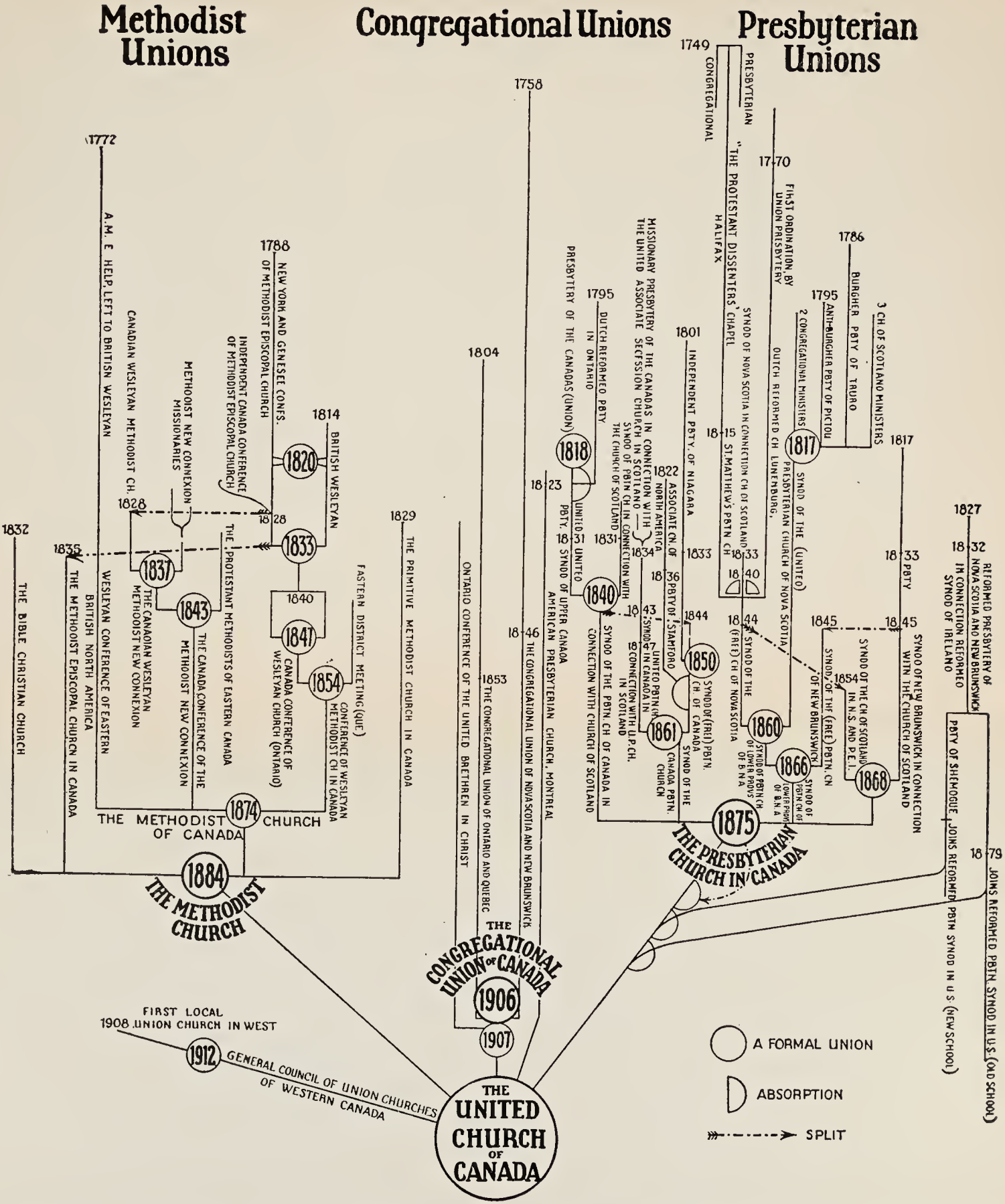
In Manitoba and Saskatchewan the more persistent demand for a form of union that would retain connection with the Parent Churches led to what became known as the "Double Affiliation" or "Triple Affiliation" plan. The local churches united to form one "United Church of ———" on the constitution provided in the "Basis of Union." A clause in the Agreement stated,—"It is agreed that this United Church will be incorporated with the proposed United Church of Canada when organic union is effected." Two or more communion rolls were kept and individual members thus retained their membership in the Parent Churches. The pastors were chosen alternately from the Presbyterian and Methodist ministers. All money raised over and above local charges and expenses were divided equally between the Budget and Missionary Funds of the Presbyterian and Methodist Churches. This plan eliminated practically all overlapping in Manitoba and Saskatchewan.

As a result of the various plans of cooperation there were reported in 1922 over 1,000 pastoral charges with approximately 3,000 churches and preaching stations organized upon a united basis and looking forward to Church Union.

13. Relation of Frontier to the Union.

Thus the needs of the Frontier inspired the vision and raised the issue of Church Union. It was the Frontier that led the way, when the Churches hesitated, through cooperation and delimitation of territory, through independent unions and "Affiliation Plans," and made Church Union an accomplished fact in hundreds of small communities. It was the Frontier that continued the pressure for Church Union when difficulties of sentiment and prejudice asserted themselves in more populous communities. It was the Frontier that voted overwhelmingly in favour of Church Union. As a major issue in the religious history of Canada Church Union is the gift of the Frontier.

The accompanying Chart, prepared by Rev. Dr. W. T. Gunn, shows the Unions of Churches in Canada leading toward The United Church of Canada.



The above historical chart shows the various unions leading up to The United Church of Canada.

Chapter XIII.

The Evangelization of the New Frontier Home Missions

1. Frontier Not Always Geographical.

The evangelization of the Frontier has always been the prime responsibility of the Church. In fact, the Church History of Canada might be recounted as the story of Home Missions in the Dominion. But the circumstance that Canada was explored, settled and evangelized first on its eastern borders has ever thrown the Frontier of the Dominion towards its western regions. Though mainly of the West and North, the Frontier, of course, is not always geographical. It is also spiritual. It ever stands for Need and the Opportunity of Up-building. There are Frontiers of human life in every city of Canada that call for Evangelism and Social Service. There are everywhere Frontiers of Ignorance and Sin and Disease which are sending forth insistent Macedonian cries for help. But the sphere of Home Missions is largely of the West.

2. Frontier of New West.

Today we are confronted with a new Frontier in a New West. The Old West of the Explorer and Fur-trader and, later, of the Red River Settler has gone. The Recent West is passing away. It witnessed the foundation laying of Church life and an era of keen denominational competition. In this period the main lines of railway were built, the educational systems and the Universities were established, the secrets of prairie agriculture were mastered, and floods of immigration were let loose upon the Plains. But a New West is now emerging. It is a New West of a rapidly growing and increasingly cosmopolitan population, of a consolidated life and community spirit, of a highly developed self-consciousness,

of a multiple contact with the peoples of the world, reaching out no longer merely to Eastern Canada by way of the Great Lakes, but also southward to the United States, westward by Vancouver and Prince Rupert to the Panama and the Orient, and ever-expectantly by the Hudson Bay route to Europe and our own Atlantic sea-board. We are now confronted with a West, which is also daily becoming a New North, where ever-new branch lines and freshly discovered types of wheat are pushing back the fringes of cultivation and opening up new settlements.

3. Heroes of the Frontier.

The Frontier has in the past yielded its Home Mission heroes[1] in all the Churches. The debt of Canada is great to those whose creative genius and patient devotion laid broad and deep the foundations of church life. There are still living men whose ministry on the Frontier has been both self-sacrificing and fruitful. We mention only a few of those who being dead yet live in the Churches for which they gave their all.

(a) Roman Catholic.

Father Lacombe may be taken as the type of Roman Catholic missionary, splendid in his devotion and untiring in his zeal.[2] The Black-robe Voyageur went West in 1849 and gave nearly three score years and ten of pioneer mission service to the Plains. He began his apprenticeship in the forest-mission of Pembina. He joined the buffalo-hunt as chaplain for the Indians and Métis. He went to Edmonton in 1852 when the resident population was 150. We find him in the far West setting up the machinery of a little mill, building chapels, establishing schools for half-breed children, constructing bridges, roving the Prairies over vast areas and bringing salvation to Indian tribes as "The Man-of-the-good-heart," quieting the Blackfeet, undergoing many

1. John Maclean, Vanguards of Canada, 196.
2. Katherine Hughes, Father Lacombe, the Black-Robe Voyageur.

hardships of the trail, enduring hunger and consuming "a bouillon made of skins of old sacks, cords of sinews and old pieces of mocassins," in emergencies performing surgical operations, fighting the scourge of small-pox, appealing in the East for funds, contending against American whiskey-traders, visiting railway-construction camps, and, in the twilight of his life, retiring to a Home named in his honour. And of such faithful labourers the Roman Catholic Church has had a great host, particularly among the Oblates.

(b) Anglican.

The Anglicans, too, have had their full quota of Home Mission heroes on the Frontier who endured want and privations in the service of the church. "Every day," writes "A Bishop in the Rough," "makes me add to the list of 'needless luxuries' what I used to class as 'comforts,' and to the category of 'comforts' what formerly I considered 'necessaries.' I now believe that there are but six necessaries, viz. shelter, fuel, water, fire, something to eat, and blankets." [3] An outstanding glory of Anglican Frontier missions was William Carpenter Bompas, Apostle of the North, first Bishop of Athabaska, 1874-1884, first Bishop of Mackenzie River, 1884-1891, first Bishop of Selkirk (Yukon) 1891-1906. His diocese was twice subdivided and on both occasions he selected the portion most remote from civilization. Before leaving England, that he might take nothing with him that might lead back his thoughts to home, he gave away all his books. He wrote, on arrival in the North land, "that for any other object than that of walking patiently and humbly with our God this country offers but a poor position."[4] Between 1870 and 1880 he put forth four Indian primers in as many dialects,—the Slavi, Beaver, Dog-Rib, and Tukudh—and a portion of the Prayer Book (syllabic) in Chipewyan. Then followed a long list of publications

3. 'A Bishop in the Rough,' edited by Rev. D. Wallace Duthie, 19.
4. H. A. Cody, An Apostle of the North, 63.

showing steady work. For over forty years he laboured in the great northland. "With him," writes H. A. Cody, "will always be associated thoughts of mighty rivers and great inland lakes, snow-capped mountains and sweeping plains; thoughts of heroism and devotion to duty; but, above all, thoughts of gratitude for countless unknown natives of the North on river, mountain and plain, who have been lifted out of darkness and brought close to the Great Shepherd's side through the light of the Gospel carried by a faithful herald of salvation—this noble Apostle of the North." [5]

(c) Presbyterian.

The pathfinders whose services in the Presbyterian Church were most notable are John Black, James Nisbet, Lucy Baker, Dr. Robertson, Dr. Carmichael and Principal King. John Black was a rugged and a gifted man, compact in frame, alert in mind, and intense in spiritual life. For thirty years he stood the strain of frontier work. He could lift a load of hay that would bend a fork-handle and in his preaching like John Knox, could "ding the pulpit into blads." There was no glossing over of sins. There was a strong faith in the sufficiency of Christ. He saw the need of the Prairies and gave himself to the development of pioneer work with vision and endurance. He strove to preach the gospel not where Christ was named, lest he should build upon another man's foundations. James Nisbet was, perhaps, a more winsome and less assertive type than Black, resourceful and faithful, tender of heart. With neither the strength of Black nor the genius of Robertson, he was a good rather than a great man. He had a large task to perform. He wrought devotedly rather than splendidly. Yet he founded the city of Prince Albert, established the first school and the Presbyterian Church in Saskatchewan and pioneered the agricultural industry in the Central Prairies. He fell, with his wife, crushed by the burden and strain of pioneering. Lucy Baker

5. H. A. Cody, An Apostle of the North, 376.

was a woman of refinement and culture, of deep religious devotion and unwavering missionary zeal, a heroine who shrank not when enraged Indians with uplifted tomahawks sought to drive her away nor hesitated when necessity was laid upon her to frame a coffin with her own hands for a little Indian pupil. She was at once an inspiring teacher and a preacher of eloquence and power, the pioneer woman missionary of the Presbyterian Church in Saskatchewan. Dr. James Robertson was a statesman with a genius for achievement who cared supremely for the things of the spirit, but cared also for visibility and permanence. Faith and optimism, courage and statesmanship, vision and faithfulness characterized him. His monument became the Presbyterian Church in Western Canada. It was well for the Presbyterian Church that this man determined its policy for Western Canada during the last twenty years of the last century. It was well also for the Frontier of Canada. If Dr. Robertson was statesman, Dr. Carmichael was minister. Untiring both of them in their efforts, the former was brilliant and far-seeing; the latter was faithful and zealous. The former brought courage and insight; the latter, tact and sound judgment to bear upon the many questions that arose in connection with their great labours. Dr. Robertson gave the missionary his appreciation and words of wisdom. His successor brought him sympathy and counsel. For Dr. Carmichael was trusted guide and leader. And in this splendid succession of leaders an honoured place must be accorded Principal King of Manitoba College, a fisher for fishers of men who united scholarship, statesmanship and sympathy in the service of the Church on the Frontier.

(d) Methodist.

To the heroes of Home Mission service the Methodist Church contributed, among others, James Evans, Robert Terrill Rundle, Thomas Woolsey, George and John Mc-

Dougall, Thomas Crosby, George Young and James Woodsworth. James Evans, who, through his invention of the Cree Syllabic, made the birch-bark talk, served as missionary to the Indians both in Ontario and the West. From Norway House he travelled thousands of miles across the Prairies. "Never daunted by danger or hardships, facing the fiercest storms on long and arduous journeys, he pursued his way, his soul consumed with a burning passion for souls; he planted the banner of the Cross at lonely posts and in far-distant camps." [6] He provided literature for the natives, printing it with type from the lead of tea-chests and with the soot of the chimney. He died in 1846, "his heart broken by severe toil and hardship and by bitter persecution."[7] Robert Terrill Rundle journeyed by dog-cariole and snow-shoe all over the Prairies, visiting native camps, holding school in the Indian lodges and preaching incessantly. He was apostle to Alberta north of the Bow River. "Mount Rundle" near Banff is named in memory of this dauntless missionary. Thomas Woolsey from his headquarters at Edmonton during the period 1855-1864 carried on a patient and devoted mission among the Crees, Stonies and Blackfeet as untiring traveller and kind physician. George McDougall was patriot, builder, recruiter of men and martyr missionary. John McDougall, prophet of the Plains, author and missionary, was splendid and unsurpassed in the double ministry to Indians and Whites alike. As Principal Riddell has declared, "he delighted in the toilsome task of breaking new trails, he peered down the shadowy lines of development and saw the significance of coming events . . . . . he sought to tell the story of the saving power of Jesus Christ to the Indian in his wigwam, to the Council of the Chiefs on the plains, and to crowded congregations in the larger centres as they listened with breathless attention to his graphic descriptions of life in the great and

6. John Maclean, Vanguards of Canada, 42.
7. Ibid., 45.

opening Westland."[8] Thomas Crosby gave 45 years of missionary service to the Pacific Coast. "When he went to the west coast," writes Maclean, "British Columbia was a crown colony, the people were pagans, and there were no converts to the Christian faith. When he went east on furlough in 1906, there were thirty-two churches connected with Methodist Indian Missions, twenty-four parsonages, twelve schools, four hospitals, two boarding schools, one industrial school, a church membership of 1,650, two Indian ordained missionaries, three medical missionaries, two ordained white missionaries and thirty other workers."[9] George Young, Superintendent of Missions for the North-West and first pioneer Methodist missionary to the White settlers in the West, came to Fort Garry in 1868 and in 1883 became first Superintendent of Missions for the North West and first President of the Conference. James Woodsworth "prophet of the long trail," founded new missions in every nook and corner of the western provinces, beginning with a sparse population and a church here and there. He was for twenty-nine years Superintendent of Missions. During his tenure of office sixty-eight circuits and missions became 650 and the small Conference grew into three large ones.

4. Indians.

The evangelization of the Frontier is carried on through many agencies in a large variety of forms of service in the Dominion. On the farthest verges and in carefully selected Reserves the Churches minister to the Indian population. Both Roman Catholics and Anglicans have missionary dioceses and other Churches have large corps of workers devoted almost entirely to the Red Men and the Eskimos. Schools and hospitals are supported by the denominations with Government assistance. Little churches neatly compacted of dressed logs and decorated with altar pieces, stations and

8. John Maclean, McDougall of Alberta, 273-4.
9. John Maclean, Vanguards of Canada, 196.

sacred pictures in striking colours are planted in strategic places where the tribes assemble or the nomad may be reached. The canoes still carry the itinerant missionaries in their holy mission along the rushing rivers through the great forests. Many Indians, of course, have engaged in farming, but the vast majority are still largely children of the great woods, hunting, trapping, fishing. The Church still follows them with a loving ministry of soul-seeking and service, and devotes its treasures of life and of money to training missionaries for the aborigines of the Frontier and for placing in their midst schools, hospitals and churches.

5. Types of Frontier Service.

The Churches have many special types of Frontier mission service,—neighbourhood and community houses in crowded sections of the great cities where the urban Frontier challenges life, coastal missions along the shores of the Pacific and the Labrador with a fleet of small craft calling at intervals at scattered settlements and logger camps, railway missions working new branch lines on the Prairies in sparsely settled communities, outpost hospitals among New Canadians and in pioneer districts, redemptive and rescue homes striving to win back girls to ways of purity and hope, school homes and residences for the housing of the young who come to the cities from outlying communities for their education. But the great part of the work of evangelizing the Frontier is carried on in small rural settlements where the faithful clergyman lives in his humble manse beside the little village church and drives, to an increasing extent with the familiar Ford, out to country school houses with their cramped seats. For the Church is still the best friend of the Frontier, and the clergyman of the Frontier still challenges all men with his life of sacrificial and fruitful service. The missionary lives close to the needs of men, eager to minister unto them.

6. Problems of the Frontier.

In the evangelizing of the Frontier the Churches of Canada are confronted with many problems. First and foremost is the tendency for large congregations in important centres to look too exclusively to their own church life and to fail to lift up their eyes to the needs and opportunities of the Frontier. Another difficulty that besets the churches is too small a faith in the power of the Gospel to redeem and to save, particularly in the case of the fallen, drunken, depraved in congested areas. There are, besides, pressing problems presented by, and great services to be rendered in connection with, the New Canadians, the new settlements along and beyond the branch lines of railway, the large number of neglected school districts in the West which a survey in Saskatchewan reveals as possessing no church services from any denomination, the failure of the Church to provide all-year services, the dearth of church workers and the growth of sectarianism on the Frontier.

Chapter XIV.

The Frontier Beyond: Foreign Missions

1. The Expanding Frontier.

We have traced the influence of the Frontier upon the religious life of Canada. That Frontier began with the Atlantic sea-board and the St. Lawrence River. It was pushed westward and northward with the expansion of exploration and settlement till, with Confederation of all the Provinces, it became continent-wide. Thereupon the Churches in Canada consolidated their life in a series of unions in order more effectively to undertake national, continental tasks. Fresh areas of need were discovered not only in the new districts of the enlarged Frontier and in pioneer communities of new-comers, but also in crowded cities and among strangers, unfortunate and underprivileged, where social service, evangelism and rescue work were inaugurated on a Frontier less geographical than economic, moral and spiritual.

2. The Frontier Beyond.

But there was a larger Frontier still that challenged the religious life of the Dominion, the Frontier Beyond. With the home base secured, and provision made to evangelize communities within Canada, the Frontier ceased to be merely national; it became "the uttermost part of the earth." The old national Frontier became a base of operations for sending missions to the New Frontier of the World. Need and Opportunity across the seas beckoned. All the great Churches of Canada opened up Foreign Missions in the regions beyond. And the challenge of the Frontier Beyond began increasingly to determine the religious policy and outlook of Canada.

It does not come within the scope of this chapter to sketch the romance of the rise of the Foreign Mission movement in Canadian Churches, but merely to indicate that this common impulse animated all alike, and at about the same time, to dedicate human lives and treasure to building up the Kingdom on the Frontier Beyond.

(a) Presbyterian.

The honour of sending forth "the first missionary from any Canadian Church or any British Colony" belongs to Maritime Presbyterianism.[1] As early as 1848 this group sent forth Rev. John Geddie to Aneityum. In 1853 he baptized 13 converts. By 1864 he had reduced the language to writing, had established 60 schools, and 2,000 persons had been taught to read. Dr. Geddie's tablet bears the noble inscription,—"When he landed in 1848 there were no Christians here, and when he left in 1872, there were no heathens." There followed Geddie to the New Hebrides the martyr Gordons, Rev. H. A. Robertson, Rev. J. W. McKenzie, Rev. Joseph Annand and others. Just prior to the Union of 1875 two foreign mission fields had been opened, in two other widely separated quarters of the globe,—in 1868 Rev. John Morton had founded the Trinidad Mission; and in 1871 Rev. George Leslie McKay was appointed to China, but, having gone instead to Formosa, he had inaugurated a mission at Tamsui in March, 1872. The Articles of Union in 1875 stipulated that all the missions of the several uniting churches should be prosecuted by the United Church. Shortly after the Union, in 1877, Rev. J. M. Douglas reached Indore and was soon joined by Rev. and Mrs. J. Fraser Campbell. These pioneers established the mission of Central India where was waged a notable struggle for religious toleration in the Native States. In 1888 Rev. Jonathan Goforth and Dr. J. Frazer Smith, supported by the Alumni of Knox and Queen's

1. Historic Sketches of the Pioneer Work and the Missionary, Educational and Benevolent Agencies of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1903, p. 49.

Colleges, opened a mission in Honan. Somewhat earlier, in 1884, Rev. J. G. Gibson was appointed to work among the East Indians of Demerara and began the mission in British Guiana. More recent missions were established in Korea, "Land of the morning calm, and last of the Hermit Nations," where the heroic W. J. MacKenzie fell after 18 months of splendid pioneering; Macao, near Canton, the district from which come the Chinese in Canada, authorized in 1901 and inaugurated in 1902, and Gwalior, opened up in 1904 under Dr. John Wilkie.

(b) Baptist and Congregationalist.

The Baptists have confined their Foreign Mission enterprise to two fields, the Telugus of India, founded in 1874, and Bolivia, South America, inaugurated in 1898. The Congregationalists have worked in conjunction with the American Congregational Board in Angola, in Portuguese West Africa, a mission founded in 1886.

(c) Methodist.

It was in 1872 that the Missionary Society, at its annual meeting at Brockville, formally and publicly committed the Wesleyan Church to foreign missionary work, "to spread the knowledge of salvation beyond the boundaries of our own nationalities."[2] During the following winter a campaign for funds to send forth missionaries was successful beyond all expectations. Japan was chosen as the field of operations for at that particular moment this empire was emerging from her long seclusion. She had recently reformed her Calendar, had sent out a Commission to study European and American civilization, and had removed from public notice boards her edicts against Christianity. In 1873 Rev. George Cochran and Dr. Davidson McDonald opened up a mission in Japan, not without many objections on the part of members of the Church." Viewed from the standpoint of

2. Arthur P. Addison, The Heart of Japan, 58-59. Also *vide* p. 114 above, first Missionary Society formed 1824. Work among the Indians of Upper Canada, and the West regarded as Foreign Missions and so reported until 1920.

mere human prudence," wrote Dr. Sutherland, "the objectors were right. The home missionaries were struggling along with very inadequate stipends; many Indian tribes were still unreached; the calls from new settlements in our own country were loud and frequent, and the vast French population of the Province of Quebec was scarcely touched by Methodist agencies, Under such circumstances, it is not to be wondered at that some were inclined to say: "We have here only five barley loaves and two small fishes, but what are they among so many?" But there were others who remembered the lesson of the 'twelve baskets of fragments' . . . . . and these said, "Let us have faith in God." [3] This faith was immediately rewarded. In the following year, 1874, the year of the Golden Jubilee of the Missionary Society, Rev. George Cochran reported,—"You will rejoice with us that by the blessing of God we have already seen fruit of our labours. Two young men have embraced the truth and been baptized into the fellowship of the Church." [4] By the end of the first decade the Church in Japan had three foreign and nine native ministers, and there were five regular preaching-places in the city of Tokyo and work regularly supplied in Shizuoka, Numazu and Kofu with a total membership in the mission of 282.[5] By 1889 the Japanese mission field was formed into an Annual Conference in order to grant a large measure of autonomy. An academy for young men was established at Tokyo, and a theological school founded for training native candidates for the ministry. But expansion of work in connection with the Frontier Beyond took place in two other directions. In 1880 was organized the Woman's Missionary Society which undertook the establishment of schools for girls in Tokyo, Shizuoka and Kofu. And in September, 1890, the General Conference at Montreal, believing that the "Head of the Church is calling us to enter some new field of heathenism,

3. "Centennial of Canadian Methodism," 257.
4. "A Century of Victory, 1824-1924," 16.
5. Arthur P. Addison, The Heart of Japan, 74.

and thus far the leadings seem to be in the direction of China," decided to open up a new field in West China.[6] To this new field missionaries were appointed in 1891.

(d) Church of England.

In the same way the Church of England proved responsive to the challenge of the Frontier Beyond. In response to an invitation issued by the "Conference of the Anglican Communion in China and Hong-Kong, held at Shanghai, April 15th to 20th, 1907," a Diocese was established in Honan, China, by resolution of the Board of Missions, at Ottawa, September 25th, 1908. Rev. William Charles White was consecrated first Bishop in St. James' Cathedral, Toronto, on St. Andrew's Day, 1909. A Diocese in Mid-Japan was established by the Board of Missions at its meeting held at London, Ont., on September 8th, 1911, and Rev. Heber James Hamilton was consecrated first Bishop in Christ Church Cathedral, Montreal, on St. Luke's Day, 1912. Responsibility for the District of Kangra, Punjab, India, was taken over from the C. M. S. in 1911 and Rev. R. H. A. Haslam appointed Field Secretary. The Society undertook to support a medical missionary at St. Luke's Hospital, Mt. Carmel, working under the authority and direction of the Bishop-in-Jerusalem, to make an additional annual grant-in-aid of $1200 towards the maintenance of the hospital, and to support a woman missionary in Egypt working under the C. M. S. and another in South America under the S. A. M. S. at Temuco, Chile.[7]

(e) Roman Catholic.

The Roman Catholic Church in Canada, as such, does not engage in Foreign Mission work. This responsibility devolves upon the Missionary Orders and the "Propaganda" at Rome. The Frontier Beyond, therefore, challenges the Roman Catholic Church in Canada not directly, but only as

6. E. W. Wallace, The Heart of Sz-Chuan, 38.
7. The Year Book of the Church of England in the Dominion of Canada, 1927, pp. 71-72: W. E. Taylor, Our Church at Work, Chs. IV-VI.

part of the whole Roman Church. But the very affiliation with Rome is in itself a guarantee of an outlook beyond the Canadian Frontier. This connection has made Quebec a refuge for Orders expelled from France, and Canada a land of hope for Roman Catholic immigrants from Europe. To the Roman Catholic Church the Dominion of Canada is a Frontier Beyond for the faithful in Europe; for the Protestant Churches of the Dominion the Frontier Beyond is Asia, Africa, South America and the Isles of the Sea.

3. World Relations.

For all Churches in the Dominion the sense of world affiliation and of world responsibility has grown in the same generation that has made Canada a participant in a World War, a signatory to a World Peace, a member of the League of Nations and has given her a non-permanent seat in the League Council. Canada's religious life, even as her political and commercial life, reaches ever more and more beyond her national boundaries to the Frontier Beyond, and the life of the Frontier Beyond is increasingly significant in determining the character of her religious life and policy. Thus the revolution in China is not without its profound effect upon the religious outlook and attitude of Church workers in the Dominion. Changes in educational policy, in methods of hospital work and administration, in the civilization and culture of the Orient are matters of vital concern to the life of the Home Church. They revolutionize for Canadian church life the character of its giving and of its service. Need and Opportunity in the Frontier Beyond, across the seas, are among the most vital forces in shaping the policy of the great Churches in the Dominion of Canada.

4. Interdependence.

In 1776 the American Colonies made a Declaration of Independence. The United States of America thereby cut themselves aloof from the life and problems of Europe.

Canada has never cut herself aloof from the world outside her borders. Her life within the British Commonwealth of Nations is a constant Declaration of Interdependence. She lives with the Mother Country. She lives with the other Overseas Dominions. She lives not apart from the other peoples of the earth. So in her religious life she does not follow a policy of Independence. Her adoption of a Foreign Missions programme is an acceptance of a World Responsibility. This acceptance is, on her part, an interest in, and concern for, the Frontier Beyond, a recognition of the claims of Brotherhood and Service for the world beyond her own national Frontiers. For as Canada has made in Church Union a definite contribution towards implementing Christ's prayer, "That they all may be one," so also in Foreign Missions she would seek to make known His compassion to "the other sheep which are not of this fold,"—"Them also I must bring and they shall hear my voice."

5. Unity.

And further, as the Home Frontier called loudly for Church Union, so the Frontier Beyond bids the Churches put away their divisions. On August 20, 1927, the World Conference on Faith and Order at Lausanne, Switzerland, unanimously adopted The Call to Unity. This declared:—

> "More than half the world is waiting for the Gospel. At home and abroad sad multitudes are turning away in bewilderment from the Church because of its corporate feebleness. Our missions count that as a necessity which we are inclined to look on as a luxury. Already the mission field is impatiently revolting from the divisions of the Western Church to make bold adventure for unity in its own right."[8]

8. Reports of the World Conference on Faith and Order, p. 6.

Chapter XV.

The Frontiersman—His Contribution

We have now watched the Frontier expand from a small French settlement and a precarious Roman Catholic Mission to the great Dominion of Canada with its rich and highly organized religious life. Westward and northward the Frontier has been pushed back till today the whole land is challenged by the Christian Faith. What has the Frontier signified in the religious history of Canada?

The Frontiersman belongs to the Guild of Trailblazers and Pathfinders. These latter discover the road to the Better Country, but it is the Frontiersmen who lay the foundations and do the toilsome building. Such never receive the promises, but, having seen them afar off, are persuaded of them and embrace them. Patiently and bravely they labour, but they are never made perfect without us who enter into the fruits of their honest and fruitful toil.

The glory of all pioneers is that they exhibit faith and courage and the spirit of high adventure. They accept with blithe fortitude their inevitable lot of privation and poverty.

The Frontier is the hope of the Church. Religion exists to minister to Need. The Frontier is the home of Need. The Church that grows must ever be sensitive to the challenge of the Frontier.

What has the Frontiersman achieved? He has been a watchman set upon a tower, to sound the trumpet, proclaim the issue and challenge the Church. He has been the vanguard of the onward march, the spear-point of the forward thrust. "There are two great forces," writes Eduard Meyer, "continually at work in every civilization, indeed in all human life; the power of tradition, which has settled everything a man may do and think . . . . . and, in opposition to it,

the creative and inventive faculties of man, the power of individuality, the tendency to emancipate one's self from tradition, to alter and improve the conditions of life." [1] The Frontiersman has represented the power of individuality, of initiative, of adventure and faith,—the very breath and life of religion. He has represented human wrestling with the problems of life and not an inert acceptance of things. He has represented life and growth. Just because Canada has been for four centuries, and is even now, a growing community, the Frontiersman is the Canadian most typical of our historical development.

In the human body are efferent and afferent nerves: those that conduct impulses outwards from a nervous centre and those that conduct impulses towards the centre. Both are essential. Afferent nerves convey impulses that give rise to sight and hearing. So in the religious life. Afferent nerves from the Frontier give vision to the Church. But the process is not completed till impulses are there created that are efferent, that lead to action. Need on the Frontier is the impulse that is afferent. Service on the other hand is the efferent impulse that conducts missionary life and givings back to the Frontier. When both afferent and efferent nerves properly function there is growth. The religious history of Canada is the story of the Frontier, the challenge of Need on the fringes of the country's growth met by the mission heart of the Church and the consecrated service of devoted missionaries of the Christian Faith.

The Frontier has ever been haunted by loneliness and isolation. Loneliness has been the spectre of the urban Frontier; isolation, the lot of the geographical Frontier. Nowhere more than on the Frontier is unity found to be strength. Isolation needs to be corrected by Union. Under the French régime the Jesuits were more sucessful than the Récollets, and in the early West the Oblates better missionaries than

1. Eduard Meyer, Kleine Schriften, 215.

the secular priests, in both cases because more compactly organized. The vicissitudes of Frontier life can be endured only by Churches which are closely integrated. For this reason Congregationalists and Baptists, whose polity has been congregational, have, apart from their work in the cities, made but an insignificant contribution to Western missions. For the same reason the Anglicans, who are organized along diocesan lines, though highly sucessful among distant Indians and Eskimos, have made a less important contribution to the changing Prairie Frontier than either the more connexional Methodists or the more presbyterial Presbyterians. And because the church life of Western Canada has profoundly needed close integration the West has ever warmly championed the causes of Church Union.

Every minister of the Christian Church and every Christian worker is something of a Frontiersman. In so far as he plumbs the depths of human need and goes out bravely to meet it with a high spirit of faith and the courage of Christian adventure, with unsparing toil and sympathetic anguish of soul to contend against sin and, with the cross, to wage the battles of the Master's Kingdom, he is coming after Christ, "the pioneer and perfection of Faith," the True Frontiersman, and is winning battles on the Frontier.